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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

VOLUME XI.

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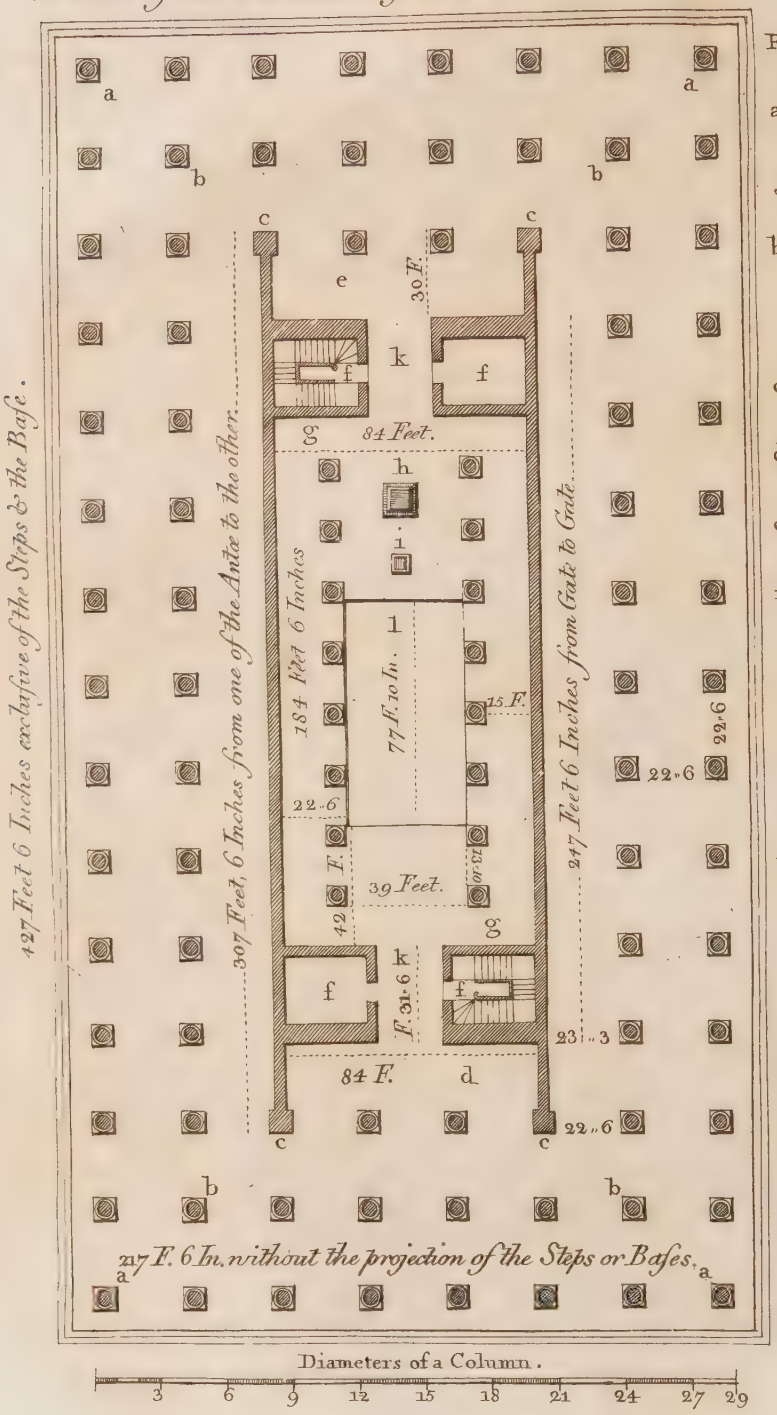
PLAN of the TEMPLE of DIANA at EPHESUS



References.

a *Outer Peri-style.*

b *Inner Peri-style.*

c *Antæ.*

d *Pronaos.*

e *Posticum.*

f *Four Recesses for Stairs, &c.*

g *Cella.*

h *Shrine of Diana.*

i *Altar.*

k *Two Portals.*

l *Hypethros*

Murray & Stuart, *Chester*

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

I. *Obſervations on* Pliny's *Account of the Temple of* Diana *at* Epheſus. *By* Thomas Falconer, *Eſq. of* Cheſter.

Read Dec. 8, and 15, 1791.

WHEN I engaged myſelf to ſome friends to vindicate Pliny in relation to the deſcription of the Temple of Diana at Epheſus, I was not aware how many ingenious writers had diſcuſſed the ſame ſubject. Having, however, been lately favoured by a learned and noble friend with the Memoirs of the Academy of Cortona, I have read the Marcheſe de Poleni's curious and inſtructive paper on this ſubject, and have alſo conſidered Mr. Windham's deſcription of that ſtructure which is publiſhed in the ſixth volume of the Archæologia. I owe much to theſe learned perſons, but am not diſcouraged from attempting a farther explanation of the text of Pliny, who, though he may have been ſometimes miſtaken in Natural Hiſtory, has illuſtrated the fine arts with the

greateſt attention, and the moſt correct taſte. The paſſage I ſhall firſt refer to is that in Book xxxvi, chap. 14.

'Magnificentiæ vera admiratio extat templum Epheſiæ Di-
'anæ ducentis viginti annis factum a totâ Aſiâ. In ſolo pa-
'luſtri id fecere, ne terræ motus ſentiret, aut hiatus timeret.
'Rurſus ne in lubrico atque inſtabili fundamenta tantæ molis
'locarentur, calcatis ea ſubſtravere carbonibus, dein velleri-
'bus lanæ. Univerſa Templi longitudo eſt 425 pedum; lati-
'tudo ducentorum viginti; columnæ centum viginti ſeptem
'a ſingulis regibus factæ, 60 pedum altitudine; ex iis 36
'cælatæ, una a Scopa. Operi præfuit Cherſiphron architec-
'tus. Summa miracula epyſtylia tantæ molis attolli potuiſſe.
'Id conſecutus eſt ille peronibus arenâ plenis, molli pulvino
'ſuper capita columnarum exaggerato, paulatim exinaniens
'imos ut ſenſim totum inſideret.'

In the ſame book, chap. 23. Pliny goes farther.

'Ionici capituli altitudo tertia pars eſt craſſitudinis. In
'Epheſiæ Dianæ æde—primum columnis ſpiræ ſubditæ, et ca-
'pitella addita, placuitque altitudinis octava pars in craſſitu-
'dine, et ut ſpiræ haberent craſſitudinis dimidium, ſeptimæ-
'que partes detraherentur ſummarum craſſitudini.'

From theſe two paſſages, well conſidered, it would be poſſible for any one who had ſtudied the writers who have treated of Greek architecture, to form a conſiſtent plan of this magnificent temple without farther aid. The regular ſyſtem which the Greeks adopted, and from which they never deviated without great neceſſity, renders the deſcription of theſe buildings more particularly clear and preciſe. The firſt deſign was only that of an oblong building, which was afterwards improved by prolonging the antæ or ſide walls, and placing two pillars between (an idea ſuggeſted by a warm climate),

climate), and thus forming the *pronaos* (*a*). The ſecond improvement was made by adding a like portico at the back of the temple, called by Vitruvius *poſticum*, and this ſort of temple bore the name of *Amphiproſtylos*. The third change was effected by continuing the columns round the walls, which ſecured the pronaos from the rays of the ſun, and gave a ſhady walk for the whole circumference of the building (*b*). Great magnificence, aſſiſted by a refined taſte for ſimplicity, produced another colonnade, which formed the dipteros, or a temple with two periſtyles (*c*).

Of this laſt kind was the Temple of Diana at Epheſus. Theſe ideas were familiar to the Greeks, and afterwards adopted by the Romans. The general plan was known, and the particular rules of architecture which were practiſed in any ſpecific temple were eaſily deſcribed, and as eaſily underſtood. This vindicates Pliny from the charge of brevity, which many have blamed, who did not know with what facility his readers might comprehend his meaning. As I am now beginning a comment on Pliny's text, I muſt acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Windham for correcting the punctuation, and reading 'columnæ centum; viginti ſep-'tem a ſingulis regibus factæ.' To ſuppoſe otherwiſe would introduce an odd number of columns, the diſpoſition of which has made the Marcheſi Poleni add a circular periſtyle of columns at the back of the temple, and ſuppreſs both the *pronaos* and *poſticum*, which ſeem to have been eſſential parts of a ſacred edifice in theſe ages. On the other hand, I muſt own that I diſagree with the learned deſcriber Mr. Windham, in more than one part of his diſcourſe. I cannot allow that

(*a*) Theſe are marked *c c* in the plan, Plate I.

(*b*) See the plan, letter *b*.

(*c*) Marked with the letter *a* in the plan.

the hundred columns were limited ſolely to the periſtyles of the temple, but think that they included thoſe alſo which were within the cella, in number ſixteen. Nor can it be granted him, that the intercolumniation was the Euſtyle, viz. two diameters of a column, and $\frac{1}{4}$, as Vitruvius expreſsly tells us that the Temple of Diana was a Diaſtylos, viz. having three diameters between each column [*d*]. The menſuration of Mr. Windham in the breadth, as he allows three diameters to the middle intercolumniation, will amount exactly to 183 feet nine inches, which differs from Pliny's account by thirty-ſix feet three inches. To ſupply this defect he includes the breadth of ten ſteps on each ſide, from the authority of Philo Byzantinus, which muſt have contained a projection on each ſide of at leaſt eighteen feet. He ſuppoſes too the intercolumniation to be no more than 16 feet; but he ſhould have added ten $\frac{1}{2}$ inches to each, which addition, as he gives ſeventeen columns on each ſide, and conſequently ſixteen intercolumniations, would *add* fourteen feet to his calculation. My deſcription of the periſtyle is as follows: I ſuppoſe eight columns in front, as is generally allowed. The diameters of theſe make ſixty feet, viz. eight × ſeven $\frac{1}{2}$; the ſeven intercolumniations give 157 feet ſix inches, and the total amounts to 217 feet ſix inches: the projection of the baſe, according to Vitruvius, is about one fourth of the diameter, conſequently the whole, including the two projections at the extremities, will be no more than 221 feet three inches.

The number of columns on the ſides of the temple muſt be determined by the ſame proportion. I cannot ſuppoſe them

[*d*] Diaſtyli hæc erit compoſitio cum *trium* columnarum craſſitudinem intercolumnio interponere poſſumus, tamquam eſt Apollinis ac *Dianæ* ædis. Vitruv l. iii. c. 2.

to

to be more than fifteen, notwithſtanding the teſtimonies laid down of the temples of Minerva and Theſeus at Athens. We have ſurer rules to direct us than mere analogy. The whole length, ſays Pliny, is 425 feet. Now fifteen diameters of a column amount to 112 feet ſix inches; and fourteen ſpaces, at three diameters each, are equal to 315 feet. The total of both is 427 feet ſix inches, which, even with the projection of the baſes, would not be much above the meaſurement of Pliny.

In this enumeration I have ſuppoſed the Ionic baſe to be the Attic, but as this was the laſt refinement of Grecian taſte, and probably from its name invented in Attica in after times, it is more probable that the columns of Diana's temple (being the firſt that had baſes [*e*]) might only have a plinth with a ſingle torus, and then the projection would be about one half of the Attic baſe, viz. only one fourth part for the whole.

If this conjecture may be allowed, the meaſure of the other breadth, from one column to the extremity of the other, would be only 219 feet, four inches, and that of the length 429 feet four inches, which is a ſurpriſing confirmation of Pliny's deſcription. This too is perfectly agreeable to the rule of Vitruvius, that whatever intercolumniations there are in the front, there muſt be twice that number on the ſides of the temple [*f*].

[*e*] For this we have the authority of Pliny confirmed by Vitruvius.

[*f*] Quot intercolumnia ſunt in fronte, totidem bis intercolumnia fiunt in lateribus. Vitruv. l. iii, c. 3. He afterwards ſays, that ſome had miſtaken this rule, and ſuppoſed the duplication of the *columns* was intended; an opinion which he contradicts; and indeed from all the remains of Grecian temples, the columns in the front are an equal number, thoſe on the ſides unequal, which is incompatible with the idea of doubling the columns.

The

The exterior periſtyle contained forty-two columns, the interior leſs by eight, that is, thirty-four, and the total was ſeventy-ſix columns. Pliny has not mentioned the length of the outward wall of the cella and the antæ, becauſe it was deducible from the foregoing account. The ſpace taken up by two columns, and two intercolumniations is ſixty feet. We muſt ſubtract this from either front. Now the whole length, excluding the projection of the baſe, being 427 feet ſix inches, we muſt deduct 120 feet, and the whole will be 307 feet ſix inches.

In like manner, for the breadth of the cella, deduct 121 feet ſix inches, and the remainder is ninety-ſix feet. The antæ had a column at each extremity, which I ſuppoſe was ſquare, and two columns between, ſo that the pronaos and poſticum, adding eight to the 76 in the periſtyles, make the whole number of columns without the cella eighty-four. The depth of the pronaos was probably the diameter of one column, and one intercolumniation to the door of the cella, which gives juſt thirty feet. We muſt deduct the ſame for the poſticum, and the length from door to door will be 247 feet ſix inches. The extent of the cella within was much leſs; for, Pliny mentions a ſtaircaſe, which muſt be placed between the outward door and the immediate entrance into the inſide of the temple [*g*]. I have for this reaſon deſcribed four ſpaces in the plan, each of thirty-one feet ſix inches, viz. ſix feet for the outward wall, twenty-two feet ſix inches for the vacant ſpace for the ſtairs, and as the inner wall had no material weight to ſupport, we need not ſuppoſe it more than three feet in thickneſs. The whole deduction then will be ſixty-three feet from both

[*g*] In this I follow the plan of all the temples of Greece hitherto deſcribed by accurate travellers.

fronts, which reduces the cella to 184 feet ſix inches in length. The breadth of the cella, without accounting for the diminution of the thickneſs of the outward walls, would be eighty-two feet, but with that may be eaſily ſuppoſed to be eighty-four.

The remainder of the columns being ſixteen, are placed within the walls; but, though they are ſuppoſed to be of the ſame proportion with the exterior columns, the intercolumniation may be leſs. The diameters of the eight columns are equivalent to ſixty feet, and the intervals between, being nine in number, are equal to thirteen feet ten inches each. The diſtance of theſe columns from the wall was, I ſuppoſe, fifteen feet, and the intercolumniation thirty-nine feet, which would be ſufficient for the proceſſions to the Sanctuary, and for the ſteps up to the ſacred image which fell from Jupiter, with all the pageantry of Aſiatic ſuperſtition. The altar was placed, as it ſhould ſeem, before the idol, in a right line under the next intercolumniation, as expreſſed in the plate. I have now finiſhed the plan of the building, excepting the ſteps leading up to the periſtyle. Philo Byzantinus ſays there were ten, which is adopted by Mr. Windham, to reconcile the breadth of the temple, as given by Pliny, with the Euſtyle intercolumniation. The Marcheſe Poleni ſeems to doubt it, and Vitruvius lays a great ſtreſs on the propriety of an odd number of ſteps [*b*]. I determine nothing until it be ſettled when this Philo Byzantinus flouriſhed. One of that name, and called Byzanteus, is quoted by Vitruvius amongſt the *minus nobiles*, and as a writer de machinationibus [*i*]; but whether this was the ſame which Leo Allatius publiſhed may

[*b*] Gradus in fronte ita ſunt conſtituendi uti ſint *ſemper impares*. Vitruv. l. iii. c. 3.

[*i*] Vitruv. in proemio ad lib. vii.

be

be ſubmitted to thoſe who have better means of information than a country retirement can afford.

Having finiſhed the ichnography of this magnificent temple, I ſhall not attempt to delineate the ſuperſtructure; but the following particulars may be of uſe to Antiquaries. The columns were ſixty feet high, viz. eight times their diameter, which was ſeven feet ſix inches; the height of the baſe was half the diameter, or three feet nine inches. The diminution of the ſhaft was one-ſeventh part, or nearly one foot one inch. The height of the capital was a third part of the thickneſs, or two feet ſix inches. From this account, the ſhaft of the column muſt have been as ſixty feet — ſix feet three inches, viz. fifty-three nine inches. Pliny informs us that the ſpira and capitellum were firſt joined to the column in this temple. Vitruvius more directly affirms that Cherſiphron, or Cteſiphon, (for he is called by both names,) invented the Ionic order for the Diana of Epheſus. As ſo perfect a form is ſeldom produced by one effort of genius, we may ſuppoſe, with Pliny, that there were ſome columns in Aſia called Ionic, prior to theſe which he now deſcribes, which had a capital, but, like the Doric order of antiquity, had no baſe [*k*]. The Marquis Poleni agrees with this opinion of the pre-exiſtence of the Ionic, and of the want of a baſe; but he likewiſe aſſents to Vitruvius, that the capital was invented for the temple of Diana. By thus reconciling Pliny with Vitruvius, he ſuppoſes an Ionic column exiſting before, without either baſe or

[*k*] I have been informed that the Coliſeo at Rome gives a baſe to the Doric order: this ſingularity ſeems to diſplay great judgement in the deſigner, as the ſuperincumbent maſs demanded greater appearance of ſolidity. This however was not followed by the ancient architects, and the beautiful gate of Chriſt Church in Oxford, deſigned by Mr. Wyatt, proves it is not a *neceſſary* ornament.

capital,

capital, viz. having no diſtinctive mark of the order. The truth is, he read *Capitulum*, where Delcampius's edition has *Capitellum*. Pliny's meaning ſeems to be that the volute was invented before the time of Cherſiphron, but that he added the Capitellum, or Abacus of Vitruvius, which by ſeparating the volute from the epiſtylium, or architrave, gives a peculiar grace to the ordonnance of the whole. The only material omiſſion of Pliny is the fluting of the columns, which Vitruvius ſays was firſt practiſed in this temple, and we have no authority to contradict his aſſertion [*l*]. Having finiſhed the columns, I make no doubt that the entablature and pediment were proportions well known in the days of Veſpaſian, conſequently Pliny had no reaſon to deſcribe them minutely. If we follow the rule of Vitruvius, the former was about ten feet ſix inches, and the faſtigium of the pediment about thirty feet or a little more. Theſe added to the columns, without conſidering the ſteps, make the whole about 102 feet high. The cieling of the periſtyle was moſt probably of marble, but the cella was covered with beams, as both Pliny and Vitruvius affirm.

The altar, ſays Strabo, was the work of Praxiteles, and this muſt for an obvious reaſon mean a ſecond altar, erected after the burning of the temple by Heroſtratus.

The figure of Diana has been ſo often and ſo accurately delineated from medals, that I have only to obſerve they bear

[*l*] I admit the facts of Vitruvius oftener than his reaſoning. The origin of the Ionic capital, from the braided hair or curls of the Ionian women, ſeems too whimſical or too refined to be allowed. May it not be ſubmitted to more ſagacious inquirers, if the horns of the ram, a common ſacrifice, did not ſuggeſt the idea of the volute; for the ſkulls of the oxen formed the chief ornament of the metope of the Doric frieze in a very early period of Grecian architecture.

an exact agreement with the deſcription of Minucius Felix. The matter of which it was compoſed was a doubt in Pliny's time. Some ſaid it was of Ebenus, a name ſeemingly given by the Romans to the ebony tree, as well as the lignum vitæ; Mutianus [*m*] thought it was vine wood, but owns it was covered with a varniſh of nardum to conceal the joining of the pieces, which may account for the different opinions about the wood. Xenophon, in his Anabaſis, calls it a golden image. But the expreſſion need not be ſuppoſed to mean it was either of maſſive gold, or even plated all over. The rods which appear to ſupport the figure in many medals, the veil, and ſome other parts of the drapery might be richly gilt or plated, and give a ſanction for the word χρυσω [*n*]. It muſt now be obſerved that the figure is often repreſented in a temple of ſix or eight columns, of one of which Mr. Windham has given an elegant engraving.

I differ, however, from that learned gentleman in ſuppoſing that it repreſents the real temple. The foliage on the ſhafts of the columns and the flower-work above the pediment, indicate rather the minutiæ of a jeweller than the ſimplicity of a great architect, and the example he brings of the like ornament in the beautiful but ſmall choragic monument at Athens, vulgarly called the lantern of Demoſthenes, is not, as I conceive, applicable to ſo vaſt an edifice as the temple of Diana. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe theſe repreſent the ναοι αργυροι mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles [*o*], viz. ſilver

[*m*] Pliny, l. xii. c. 4. l. xvi. c, 40.

[*n*] From an expreſſion of Ariſtophanes one might as juſtly conclude the whole temple was of gold.

Ητ' Εφέσου μάχαιρα πάγχρυσον
ἔχεις οἶκον. Nubes, l. 597.

[*o*] C. xix. v. 24.

ſhrines,

ſhrines, under which the image was expoſed to view, as the Oſtenſorium [*p*] in foreign churches has often a nearly ſimilar decoration at the expoſition of the hoſt. The next object is the gate or folding-doors of the temple deſcribed by Pliny [*q*]. They were made of cypreſs, as Mutianus writes, and Theophraſtus confirms it.

The durability of the wood is proved by this paſſage. 'Adjicit (ſcil. Mutianus) valvas eſſe e cupreſſo, et jam quadringentis prope annis durare materiam omnem *novæ* ſimilem.' This obſervation is ſuppoſed to have been borrowed by Pliny from Theophraſtus, which is a miſtake, as it certainly relates to the ſtate of the temple in his own time, for he was contemporary with Mutianus. Whoever will examine the dates of Alexander's birth, on which day the temple was burnt, and the firſt year of Veſpaſian, when Pliny wrote, will find they give a ſpace of about 414 years. The two folding-doors were, it is ſaid, kept four years, for the glue to harden before they were hung up, and their ſize might juſtly demand an extraordinary precaution, being each of them forty feet high, and about ten broad. This paſſage too has been unjuſtly cenſured by the critics as a citation from Theophraſtus, in which they ſay he has deviated from the ſenſe of his author. The paſſage in the Greek naturaliſt is certainly obſcure; but, read it how you will, as Pliny does not quote him by name, nor tranſlate his words, why ſhould we ſuppoſe he miſtook his meaning or alluded to him in any ſenſe? The next obſervation might have been borrowed by Mutianus from Theophraſtus, but it is too obvious to be mentioned as a plagiariſm. It is only that

[*p*] It is called by the French *Montrance*, and ſometimes *le Soleil*. The ornamental cover is called a *tabernacle*.

[*q*] Pliny. l. xvi. c. 40.

the cypreſs was preferred on account of the beauty and permanency of its poliſh. The ſtaircaſe was made, as Pliny ſays [*r*], 'vite unâ Cypriâ;' not of one ſingle vine-ſtem, as ſome have thought, but of no other wood. The vines, he tells us, grow to a great height in Cyprus, and the wild vines are particularly productive of wood. The offerings in the cella of the temple muſt have been great; but Epheſus was beyond the ſphere of the inquiries of Pauſanias, and we have but few particulars in Pliny. The plate carved by the hand of Mentor is indeed mentioned as being deſtroyed both in Diana's temple and in the capitol by *fires* [*s*]. In another place we are told by Pliny that the painting of Alexander darting thunder by Apelles was preſerved in his time in the Epheſian Diana's temple.

One difficulty now occurs, viz. what was the mode of giving light to ſo extended a building? Neither Pliny nor Vitruvius mention it; ſo we can only form conjectures. The Marquis Poleni ſuppoſes a wall above the columns in the cella pierced with windows, but this is not conſonant to the general form of Grecian temples. I agree therefore with Mr. Windham, that there was an hypethros, viz. an open ſpace in the roof, large enough to diffuſe a light over the inſide of the cella. It is marked (l) in the plan. The length would be ſeventy-ſeven feet ten inches. The breadth thirty-nine feet, very nearly double the length. The projection of the entablature would not obſtruct the admiſſion of light, as I ſuppoſe the wall to be no more than twenty-two ½ feet diſtant from the opening, but whether there was a wall raiſed above it

[*r*] Pliny, l. xiv. c. 1.
[*s*] Pliny, l. xxxiii. c. 12.

with

with ſmall pilaſters muſt be left uncertain [*t*]. It cannot be objected that Vitruvius ſays the decaſtyle, or temple with ten columns in front, only admitted the hypethros, as that author makes an exception of the temple of Jupiter Olympius [*u*], being hypethral, though it had no more than eight columns. Probably the intercolumniation was the ſame as that of the temple of Diana; for, a decaſtyle temple of the Euſtyle mode, viz. two diameters and one quarter, would not be more than thirty diameters $\frac{1}{4}$, or at moſt thirty-one, and the octaſtyle temple with three diameters would make exactly twenty-nine diameters. The concluding inquiries in reſpect to the building are firſt what Pliny means by theſe words *triginta ſex* (ſcil. columnæ) *cælatæ*, una a Scopa. The Marquis Poleni places them on each ſide of the cell of the temple; and, if there were any certain number more adorned than the reſt, they could not have a place in the periſtyle. As I cannot allow more than ſixteen within the walls, I am inclined to think the emendation of Salmaſius is right; *uno a Scopa*. The columns had capitals, baſes, and flutings; and what more ornaments could they have? The moſt obvious meaning is, that thirty-ſix columns were raiſed while Scopas had the ſole direction of the works; and the fact deſerved to be recorded, as the name of that artiſt was in the higheſt eſteem. Pliny too mentions a ſtatue of Hecate *in templo Dianæ poſt ædem*, whoſe poliſh was ſo exquiſite as to injure the eyes when ſtedfaſtly examined [*x*]. Strabo alſo mentions a Hecateſium, but it ſeems

[*t*] Vitruvius mentions ſmall columns above the colonade in the Hypethral temples; but we ought to conſider that the cell of Diana's temple was the oldeſt part of the building, and probably the moſt ſimple.

[*u*] Vitruv. l. iii. c. 1.

[*x*] Pliny, H. N. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

to

to have been a diſtinct building; the architect's name was Thraſon, who is probably the ſame with that mentioned by Pliny in another place [*y*]. To reconcile our author with Strabo, we may well ſuppoſe the *Templum* ſignifies the whole encloſure of the ſacred ground or *peribolus*, and that *poſt ædem* means behind the body of the temple, and moſt likely on a line with the peribolus. The whole of theſe buildings were of white marble, and Vitruvius not only relates the manner of carrying the maſſes [*z*], but commemorates the name of the ſhepherd Pyxodorus, who accidentally diſcovered this valuable material juſt above the ſituation of the temple. This naturally leads us to conſider the place where this wonder of the world was erected. It was under Mount Pion, or Prion, in a low ſituation, *in ſolo paluſtri ne terræ motus ſentiret*. This ſuppoſed ſecurity from earthquakes is found to be unſupported by experience; but, if it were the opinion of the age, the fact cannot be controverted.

The ſea at one time flowed very near its walls, but the mud brought down by the Cayſter, which has now filled the whole harbour, had uſurped on the ſea before the days of Pliny; as he himſelf expreſsly declares 'Epheſi, ubi *quondam* ædem 'Dianæ alluebat [*a*].' Hence I conclude that the temple was farther from the ſea than the city; for, the ſame author ſays, that Epheſus itſelf was *in orâ*, and conſequently nearer the mouth of the river. In the days of Herodotus the temple was ſeven ſtadia diſtant from the city. Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's ſucceſſors, enlarged Epheſus by removing thither the inhabitants of Colophon; ſo that in the time of Strabo,

[*y*] H. N. l. xxxiv. c. 8.
[*z*] Vitr. l. x. c. 6, 7.
[*a*] Lib. ii. c. 35.

the

the diſtance of the temple was ſcarcely two ſtadia. It ſhould, however, be obſerved, that Herodotus reckons ten ſtadia to a mile, and Strabo but eight. Thus, if we meaſure the difference by paces, it is as 700 to 250, and the new walls of Lyſimachus had encreaſed the extent of Epheſus 450 paces [*b*]. Now as the *old* authorities fix the temple *out* of the encloſure of the walls, we may juſtly wonder that all the *modern* travellers I have read, except my ingenious friend Dr. Chandler, have looked for Diana's temple *within* the walls of Lyſimachus. Spon and Wheler, who travelled together, muſt have viſited the ſame ruins. The lively Frenchman found a reſemblance in thoſe he ſaw to Pliny's deſcription, which the ſober examination of Sir George Wheler could not diſcover [*c*]. It is a ſufficient confutation to ſay this ruin was of the Doric order.

Le Brun, on the other hand, found another ruin, which, by the proportion of the capital, muſt have been Corinthian; and this he calls the remains of Diana's temple [*d*]. Dr. Pocock has gone farther than the preceding authors by giving a plan of the ſuppoſed temple; but theſe remains are within the walls of the city; his plan, too, has no reſemblance to any Grecian temple, and he thinks it was of the *Compoſite* order [*e*], and not the Ionic. This miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from finding ſubterranean arched drains which were ſuppoſed to

[*b*] I have ſeen a citation from Philoſtratus, but cannot find the place, that there was a covered portico of a ſtadium in length from the city to the temple. This probably began at the extremity of the ſuburbs, and was continued to the peribolus; however taken, it is another proof that it was without the walls.

[*c*] Spon. tom. I. p. 332—336.

[*d*] Le Brun, tom. I. 4to. p. 97.

[*e*] Pocock, tom. II. p. 2. p. 51. pl. 50.

have

have been the foundation; but from Pliny's deſcription I conclude they were not. He lays the firſt foundation with charcoal, *calcatis carbonibus*, an incorruptible ſubſtance, to which St. Auguſtin and Diogenes Laertius bear teſtimony, as well as other writers [*f*].

The next words of Pliny, *dein velleribus lanæ*, are not ſo intelligible; but it might be the general opinion, and no one could contradict it [*g*]. On this bottom they might lay ſtones till they found it firm enough to bear a more regular ſuperſtructure; for, I much doubt if the turning an arch was invented in theſe early times [*h*]. I have now gone over the deſcriptive part, and have little to add, except an anſwer to the cavils of Salmaſius in his Plinian Exercitat. p. 571, 2. He accuſes Pliny of confounding times, by firſt ſaying 'ducentis viginti annis factum a totâ Aſiâ:' and, in another place, 'utpote totâ Aſiâ extruente quadringentis annis peractum ſit.' The former of theſe dates belongs to the firſt foundation of the building by Cherſiphron. The dedication was in the days of Euripides, about 420 years before Chriſt. If we count backward 220 years, it is 640. Then I think Cherſiphron built the cella of the temple. We are told by Strabo, that αλλος εποιησε μειζω, and Vitruvius confirms it by naming Pænius Demetrius and Metagenes as continuators of the building; to one of which Strabo probably alludes. In the year 640, the Ionian cities were eſtabliſhed, and it is well known

[*f*] Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 21. c. 4. D. Laert. v. Ariſtippi prope finem.

[*g*] The old bridge at London was ſaid to have been founded on wool-ſacks, which ſome Antiquaries interpret to have been erected by a tax on wool.

[*h*] The idea of an arch is not ſuggeſted by the ſimple form of the oblong Grecian temple. We may add that the remains of ancient buildings in Egypt, and the ruins of Perſepolis have none. The firſt diſcovery of this improvement is a deſideratum in the hiſtory of architecture.

the ſacred buildings were a principal object of their attention.

The ſecond date of 400 years coincides, as was obſerved before, with the time from Alexander to Veſpaſian. As for the *totá Aſiá*, which is to be found in both citations, the Marquis Poleni takes the latter to be a marginal gloſs inſerted by miſtake into the text. I ſee no foundation for this opinion. By Aſia, Pliny meant no more than the province of Aſia, or at fartheſt Aſia Minor, and who can doubt but the cities of Ionia, and many others, would unite in doing honour to a goddeſs ſo generally revered. Pauſanias ſays, there was one temple erected to the ſame divinity at Corinth. Xenophon built another at Scilluris, and Strabo mentions two others, one at Maſſilia, and the other at Emporiæ in Spain. Theſe contributions would be continued, as well for the reparation after the fire, as for the firſt erection, and Pliny, or rather his original author Mutianus, will eſcape cenſure. The twenty-ſeven columns erected by as many kings is a fact not incredible. It was no more than a tradition, yet, as it was honourable to the Epheſians, ſo it might eaſily be retained, and a ſlight inſpection of hiſtory from the year 640, A. C. to 420, will exhibit a liſt of kings of Macedonia and Caria, beſides the reguli or governors of the cities of Aſia Minor, under the Perſians, which might eaſily furniſh the required number. It is not ſaid they were offered at one time, and the ſucceſſion of kings or tyrants (call them which you will) would, either from a love of popularity or ſuperſtition, be prompted to make the offering of a column to the temple. The next cenſure of Pliny is, that he has not diſtinguiſhed the edifice built by Cherſiphron and Scopas from that built poſterior to the reign

[*k*] Strabo, l. iv. p. 179; l. iii. p. 160.

of Alexander. After a prolix inquiry, Salmaſius is obliged to own that Vitruvius is equally in fault, and cloſes it with theſe words: 'Ex quo poteſt conjectura *certiſſima* fieri, præter alia 'argumenta quæ nos adduximus, nec tempora, nec opera, 'nec architectos diſtinxiſſe Vitruvium ac Plinium.' Now when two ancient authors not writing in concert, agree in a point of which they muſt be competent judges, and probably eye-witneſſes, he muſt be a bold modern critic who ſhall poſitively deny the truth of their relation. This abuſe ſeems to have been derived from a paſſage in Strabo, extended much farther than that judicious writer deſigned, which may be tranſlated in the following words [*l*].

'When this (temple) was burnt by one Heroſtratus, they 'provided another more magnificent, collecting for that pur- 'poſe the ornaments of the women, with what elſe they could 'afford of their own, and diſpoſing of the former columns. 'To theſe facts the public decrees made at the time bear evi- 'dence. Apollodorus accuſes Timæus of Taurominium of 'ignorance of theſe facts, who being in other reſpects an en- 'vious ſycophant, and gaining the name of calumniator 'from thence, ſays they reſtored the temple from effects 'which the Perſians had depoſited there. Now there were 'no ſuch depoſits at that time, and, if there had, they muſt 'have been conſumed together with the temple. After the 'fire, the *adytum* of the temple being open to day, who would 'have choſen to lay any depoſit there?' Such are the words

[*l*] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640. C. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον Ἡρόστρατός τις ἐνέπρησεν, ἄλλον ἀμείνω κατεσκεύασαν, συνενέγκαντες τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμον, καὶ τὰς ἰδιὰς οὐσίας, διαθέμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑστερέους κίονας. τούτων δὲ μαρτυρία ἐστὶ τὰ γεινθέντα τότε ψηφίσματα· ἅπερ ἀγνοοῦντα φησὶν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸν Ταυρομενίτην Τίμαιον, καὶ ἄλλως βάσκανον ὄντα, καὶ συκοφάντην, (διὸ καὶ Ἐπιτίμιον κληθῆναι) λέγειν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Περσικῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν ἐπισκευήν, ὅυτε δὲ ὑπάρξαι παρακαταθήκας τότε, εἴτε ὑπῆρξαν, συνεμπρησθῆναι τῷ ναῷ· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔμπρησιν τῆς ἠφανισμένης ἐν ὠπαίθρῳ τῷ ΣΗΚΩ, τινα ἂν ἐθελῆσαι παρακαταθήκην κειμένην ἔχειν.

of

of Strabo, none of which imply that more than the ναος, or cella, was injured by the flames. The roof, of whatever wood it was compoſed, muſt have been very combuſtible, but that went no farther, I think, than the incloſure within the walls; but even ſuch a fire muſt greatly injure the ſixteen columns of white marble, and render them incapable of repair, though they might ſtill be uſed for other purpoſes, and therefore would be ſold to advantage. I cannot but lay ſome ſtreſs on the word σηκος, tranſlated by the Latin word *adytum*, which was left without a roof; for this expreſſion ſeems to imply that no other parts were materially damaged, and conſequently the walls, as well as the double periſtyle, were preſerved, and both Pliny and Vitruvius might conſider the ſecond temple as a reparation of the old; for, the dimenſions of the whole building, the foundations, and in ſhort moſt of what they wiſhed to deſcribe, ſtill remained. The roof was repaired with cedar, and Dinocrates probably improved the new columns in the cella, which Strabo means by ſaying they built ἄλλον ἀμείνω, another ſtill better. Many moderns have cavilled about the ſtatue of Diana, whether it were the ſame in both temples. They ſeem to forget that, although this building was ſet on fire clandeſtinely, it muſt have been diſcovered ſoon, and then the numerous attendants might eaſily ſave the object of their worſhip from the flames, though many valuable offerings were deſtroyed. As for the ornaments of the cella, whether the walls were decorated with niches or empannelled, we have no authority to ſay, and I ſhall not imitate Palladio, and other modern architects, in ſupplying them from conjecture.

I would now ſhew the reader, if poſſible, why this edifice was called a wonder of the world. We have ſcarce an opportunity of ſeeing a copy in England of the true Grecian

temple, except a beautiful model in the Garden of Stow; and thence we can form but a faint idea of the object of this diſcourſe. As for compariſon with other buildings, it would be difficult to compare it with any account of the ancient temples. That of Jupiter at Olympia is briefly deſcribed by Pauſanias.

The length was no more than 230 feet, the breadth ninety-five, and from theſe data we ſee it was as inferior in ſize to the temple of Diana as in the beauty of the materials, the former being built of the rough ſtone found on the ſpot, the latter of fine white marble. The temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum, had it been finiſhed, might have almoſt vied with that at Epheſus; being, as it ſhould ſeem from Diodorus, 340 feet long, by 160 (*m*), and 120 feet high, without including the baſement. The columns were Doric, and ſeem to have been larger than thoſe at Epheſus, but there was only one periſtyle with demi round pillars in the wall. I ſhall now drop the compariſon with ancient buildings, and only juſt hint that amongſt the modern, St. Peter's is probably the only one which excels the Epheſian temple. With this exception let us compare it with our own St. Paul's. The breadth of the Engliſh cathedral is 180 feet, which is leſs than the temple of Diana by thirty-ſeven ½ feet, or more probably about forty. The weſt front of St. Paul's might be higher, as there is a double order of columns, but the altitude adds no grace to the edifice. A ſimple portico of eight columns, equally diſengaged from each other, with an entablature and pediment compoſed of few parts, but thoſe either

[*m*] At preſent it is read in Diodorus only ſixty feet wide, but the proportion of a Grecian Temple obliges us to ſuppoſe that a numeral letter ſignifying 100 has been obliterated. Lib. xiii. p. 375.

neceſſary to the ſtrength of the building, or ſuch as were calculated to mark its deſignation, was in my opinion ſuperior to the coupled columns and niches which break into ſubdiviſions the front of St. Paul's, and though large, when conſidered in the abſtract, appear too ſmall for the whole. In length, indeed, our Engliſh building, being 500 feet, ſeems to have the advantage, but, from the interpoſition of the croſs, the eye cannot avail itſelf of this ſuperiority. Whoever conſiders the ſide view of fifteen columns, where each individual pillar, though great in itſelf, acquired additional grandeur by its junction with others, and where the colonade was ſufficiently extended to give variety and ſoftneſs without impairing the unity of the whole, muſt agree that, with reſpect to external appearance, which the ancients chiefly regarded, the temple of Diana was juſtly eſteemed a maſter-piece of ſimplicity, beauty, and magnificence. As my principal view was to vindicate Pliny, I have omitted ſome particulars concerning the ſanctuary, and the money-bank eſtabliſhed in the temple (*n*). I might too have quoted ſeveral Greek authors about the prieſts; the Megabyzi of Xenophon, or the Megalolyzi of Strabo, but theſe paſſages may be found in the reſpective authors; to which we may join the novel of Achilles Tatius, who adds ſome curious circumſtances unmentioned by other writers.

This narrative might have been extended; but my principal view was to vindicate Pliny, and even with that limitation it may be thought too long. It is hoped the defence of an uſeful author, without whoſe aid we had known but little of ancient improvements. may be admitted as an apology.

THO. FALCONER.

[*n*] See Strabo and Xenophon's Anabaſis.

II. *Extracts from the Houſehold-Book of* Thomas Cony, *of* Baſſingthorpe, *c.* Lincoln. *In a Letter to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *P. S. A. By* Edmund Turnor, *Eſq. F. A. & R. S.*

Read Jan. 19, 1792.

My Lord,

IF after the publication of a volume of royal houſehold eſtabliſhments, the Society can be ſuppoſed to give any attention to a detail of the property and expences of a wealthy merchant in the ſixteenth century, I muſt beg that your lordſhip will do me the honour to lay before them ſome extracts from the houſehold-book of Thomas Cony, of Baſſingthorpe, in the county of Lincoln, Eſq. merchant of the ſtaple of Calais, and merchant adventurer of England.

The book, beginning in the year 1545, contains, principally, notes of the cattle belonging to the ſaid Thomas Cony; inventories of his houſehold-goods and plate at Baſſingthorpe; his profits and loſſes in trade, &c. and the amount of his income and expences for fifty-four years The two laſt particulars are here tranſcribed under an idea that they may tend to aſcertain the proportions of various diſburſements at that period; and ſhew what was probably a ſuitable proviſion for the families of perſons in his ſituation.

He was the ſon of Richard Cony of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. merchant of the ſtaple of Calais, who died 1545, from whom he inherited a conſiderable property. In 1554 he married

married Alice, ſecond daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, alderman of London, and anceſtor to Francis Leigh, Earl of Chicheſter, and the preſent Lord Leigh of Stoneley.

He was taken priſoner at Calais in 1558, when that town was ſurrendered to the Duke of Guiſe, and conveyed captive to Boulogne, where, after two months ſevere confinement, he was ranſomed at the price of 3741. Amongſt other articles of value, he loſt the coſtly apparel which he had provided againſt his return to England, being that year choſen treaſurer of the ſtaple [*a*].

In 1573 he was high ſheriff of Rutland, when he wore his chain of gold (weighing 32 oz.), which was given him by his wife againſt the aſſizes for that county, which it ſeems were then held at Stamford [*a*]. In the houſe at Baſſingthorpe, the north wing of which is the only part now ſtanding, is a room which ſtill retains the name of the *Judge's Chamber*, and is ſo deſcribed in the inventories [*a*], being the room which was ſet apart for Lord Chief Juſtice Wray, who was his intimate friend, as well as counſel before his advancement to the bench.

He much increaſed his eſtate, as appears by a rental of it in 1577, of which an abſtract is made at the end of this paper, ſhewing the number of farms and cottages which belonged to him, and the annual value of them in their reſpective pariſhes. The line of trade, by which this great fortune was raiſed, was extremely lucrative. The merchants of the ſtaple had almoſt a monopoly of all wools exported; nor were the merchant adventurers, who traded likewiſe in wools, a company leſs reſpectable; witneſs their ſplendid reception of king Philip of Spain, when he took poſſeſſion of the Low Coun-

[*a*] Cony Houſehold-book, fol. MS. penes E. Turnor.

tries

tries in 1540, which is thus related by Mr. Wheeler, their ſecretary [*b*]. 'Maiſter John Sturgeon, at that time gover-
'nor of the company, was at the receiving in of the ſaid
'prince, accompanied with thirty merchants of the com-
'pany on horſeback, all richly equipped, and handſomely
'attended, nothing inferior to the merchants of other na-
'tions, namely, the Germans, Eaſterlings, Italians, Spa-
'niards, &c. and ſurmounting ſome of them in coſtly ap-
'parel, whereby they wanne great honour and commendation
'to the whole Engliſh name.'

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

Humble Servant,

Panton, Jan. 2, 1792. EDM. TURNOR.

[*b*] See his Treatiſe of Commerce, 1601, p. 154.

The

The charge of all ſuch lands and goods that I Thomas Cony have received by the death of my late father Richard Cony, merchant of the ſtaple of Calais: and alſo of all ſuch lands and goods that I Thomas Cony have had and received by my wife Alice Cony, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, of London, knight: and further, of all ſuch lands and goods as I Thomas Cony, of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. merchant of the ſtaple of England, and merchant of the adventurers, have purchaſed and gotten by the trading of wool and cloths to Calais and Antwerp, ſince my firſt beginning till my latter end, as hereafter followeth.

In Lands of old Rents.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis, Received, by the death of Richard Cony my father, my manors or lordſhips of Baſſingthorpe, Bitchfield, Rippinghall, within the county of Lincoln; as alſo the manor of Whiſſondine, in the county of Rutland, called Lord Powis's manor, valued and found by office at the death of my ſaid father Richard Cony, and delivered me by indenture under the office-ſeal in the court of Wards and Liveries, in anno Edwardi ſexti ſecundo, ut patet per ann. valor.			
Together with the lands purchaſed by my ſaid father Richard Cony, in North Stoke and Paunton, — —	192	0	0

In Goods.

Item, received by the death of my ſaid father Richard Cony, by the hands of Sir Thomas Leigh,

	£.	s	d.
executor to my ſaid father, argent as appeareth by will probat, and by his book of his wool and goods left in Calais, his debts and legacies being firſt diſcharged. Received clearly valor,	1063	3	4

Purchaſed lands bought by me Thomas Cony, of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. as hereafter followeth.

Item, bought in Baſſingthorpe and Weſtby, divers and ſundry freeholds; and in Bitchfield likewiſe divers and ſundry freeholds; and in Stoke and Paunton likewiſe divers and ſundry freeholds; and likewiſe divers and ſundry freeholds in Kirkby Underwood, in the county of Lincoln; and likewiſe in Boſton certain freeholds; and in Morton likewiſe; as alſo in Hacconby, and other places; and alſo Brignall's manor in Whiſſondine, in the county of Rutland, and the parſonage of Walcot, in the county of Lincoln: all which parcels I Thomas Cony do verily, in my conſcience, think coſt me as much in purchaſing, as all the lands my father Richard Cony left me coſt him in purchaſing within the county of Lincoln, and of old rents, as I purchaſed them, beſides ſuits and controverſies in the law, is juſt valor — 1200 0 0

Item, bought by Richard Cony, the father, and Thomas Cony, the ſon; in woods in Baſſingthorpe, Bitchfield, and Kirkby, underwood to the value of two hundred acres or thereabouts; and Burton Sleights, which was in my father Richard Cony's time, ſometimes in the year Burton common, and thorny and buſhy ground; and

	£.	s.	d.
now, by the husbandry of me Thomas Cony, with much ado, by compounding with the neighbours of Burton yearly for their common, is now become good valuable wood.			
In goods received by me Thomas Cony, Esq. since I came to the age of twenty-one years, till the first day of February 1607, *being fifty-nine years, or rather more, as hereafter followeth:*			
Of purchased lands by Richard Cony my father, in fifty-nine years after, 192l. per annum, argent, is in toto — —	11328	0	0
Of purchased lands by me Thomas Cony, the son, in fifty-nine years after, 120l. per annum, argent, is in toto —	7080	0	0
Of goods received from my father, as on the other side of the former leaf, appeareth, from Sir Thomas Leigh, executor to my father Richard Cony, argent, is in toto —	1063	3	4
Of money received for woods purchased by my father and myself for fifty-nine years after, twenty pounds per annum, is in toto —	1180	0	0
Of lands, goods, and ready money received by the hands of Sir Thomas Leigh, knight, and alderman of London, at the day of my marriage with his daughter, viz. at my marriage-day, in ready-money, argent, 200l. and by lands which the said Sir Thomas Leigh left my wife, which we have sold for, being two houses, viz. one house 400l. and the other 700l. argent, in toto	1300	0	0

£. s. d.

Of Goods.

Item, that I Thomas Cony have gotten and received by wool and wool fells, in traffick to Calais, in Edward VI. and Queen Mary, before the town of Calais was loſt, in argent de claro: and to the town of Bruges, in Flanders, two years after Calais was loſt, in my conſcience 600 0 0

Item, that I Thomas Cony, being merchant adventurer, got by trading cloths to the town of Antwerp, in Brabant, being part of the dominion belonging to the Low country in Flanders, which was in Edward VI. Queen Mary, and ſome part of Queen Elizabeth, in my conſcience I got, in argent — — 300 0 0

I Thomas Cony of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. do eſtimate myſelf to be worth in goods, viz. in ſilver plate 120l.; in ready-money 200l; in houſehold ſtuff, viz. in tapeſtry coverings, featherbeds, bolſters, pillows, and bedſteads, by eſtimation 120l. In linens, as well diaper, damaſk, and other linens, as in table-cloths, ſheets, napkins, towels, and pewter and braſs, valor 120l. beſides tables, ſtools, chairs, forms, wainſcot, brewing leads, and other veſſels not reckoned: and in cattle, as draught oxen, kine giving milk, and young beaſts of one, two, and three years old; and geldings, cart-horſes, colts, and others; as alſo in ewes, weathers, and hogs, valor 220l. beſides my coach-horſes, and other cattle unreckoned, worth in conſcience — — 600 0 0

	£.	s.	d.
Sum total of all the lands, profits of woods and goods as I Thomas Cony have received, as well by the death of Richard Cony my father, as by the marriage of my wife Alice Cony; as alſo by my own induſtry, pain, and travel, as more at large particularly appeareth: argent in toto is	23,451	0	0
The diſcharge of all ſuch loſſes as I Thomas Cony of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. have had and ſuſtained by loſs of goods in trading to Calais and Antwerp; and in ſuits of law, as well with Mr. Sheffington, Mr. Anthony Ellis, and others: and alſo for lands purchaſed by me Thomas Cony, of divers and ſundry perſons in divers towns and villages, as well in Lincolnſhire, as in the county of Rutland, and Calais, and elſewhere: and alſo of ſuch loſſes as I ſuſtained by the marriages of my eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Cony, knight: and alſo forth of my purſe for the marriage of my other children; and alſo for money laid out and diſburſed in the building of my manor houſes of Baſſingthorpe, Whiſſondine, and Bitchfield: and alſo ſpent in houſe-keeping for the ſpace of fifty-three years and more, and in other ordinary charges as hereafter followeth, argent is	17,129	0	0
The loſs of Thomas Cony, Eſq. of all his goods loſt at Calais, Anno Domini 1558 (including his ranſom) — —	956	0	0
Item, his charges in law —	828	0	0
Item, his purchaſed lands —	1759	0	0

Item,

	£.	s.	d.
Item, by his eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Cony, at his firſt marriage — —	600	0	0
Item, by his ſaid eldeſt ſon at his ſecond marriage — —	1,200	0	0
Item, laid forth about his ſix ſons marriages, and his five daughters —	4,800	0	0
Item, in building his manor houſes of Baſſingthorpe and Bitchfield, as in conſcience he thinketh to be true — —	1200	0	0
Item, that I Thomas Cony, of Baſſingthorpe, did ſpend in and upon myſelf, and my wife, in apparel and jewels, as alſo upon ſervants liveries, and other neceſſaries in nurſing and bringing up of nineteen children for the ſpace of fifty-three years, reckoned *compotus compotand.* in my conſcience is moſt true, at leaſt argent —	856	0	0
Item, that I Thomas Cony of Baſſingthorpe, Eſq. have ſpent with Alice Cony my wife, for the ſpace of fifty-years and upwards, being ſo long married, as in my conſcience I verily think and ſuppoſe in houſekeeping, as well in London as in the country: and alſo for buying of ſilver plate for furniſhing both my houſes; and alſo for providing neceſſary houſehold ſtuff for both my ſaid houſes, in my conſcience is with the leaſt, beſides my ordinary ſpending money, —	4930	0	0
Sum total of all the charges and expences of the ſaid Thomas Cony, ſince his marriage, being fifty-four years, fully accompliſhed now, this 14th of January, An. Dom. 1607, being truly caſt up together, and valued, at the leaſt, is in argent	17,129	0	0

All

	£.	s.	d.
All this great total sum I Thomas Cony do confess, that in my very conscience it is too little valued, and so much left out as amouuts to	600	0	0

Note—Each page of the above, in the original MS. is signed Thms Cony, 1607.

Hereafter followeth the book of the rental of all and singular the lands and tenements belonging unto me Thomas Cony, of Bassingthorpe, in the county of Lincoln, Esq. as well within the county of Lincoln as Rutland, or elsewhere within the realm of England, under the receipt and charge of John Okeley, George Grantham, and John Stokes, my bailiffs, made up An. Dom. 1577. et An. Reg. Dom. Elizabethæ, 19°. ut patet.

In my own Tenure at old Rents.

The manor-house and lands of Bassingthorpe, and the tithes of Bassingthorpe and Westby —	63	0	0
A farm in Westby, late in the tenure of John Cony, Gent. — —	4	0	0
A close called Oliver's, part of the manor of North Stoke — —	4	0	0
All and singular the woods belonging unto me Thomas Cony, Esq. as well in Bassingthorpe, Westby, Bitchfield, Morton, Kerby, Hachenby, and Lounde, yearly sold by the wood-man *communibus annis*. — —	30	0	0

Sum

	£.	s.	d.
Sum total of the annual Rent, by eſtimation, of the lordſhip of Baſſingthorpe and Weſtby, and all and ſingular the woods now in the tenure and occupation of me Tho. Cony, Eſq. as appeareth	109	0	0

The Rental of all my Lands and Tenements under the Receipt and Bailiwick of John Okeley, as followeth:

Baſſingthorpe, five farms, ſeven cottages, and a mill — —	60	12	8
Weſtby, two farms, ſix cottages (chief rent 8s. 11d.)	19	19	5
Bickfield, four farms, ten cottages, (chief rent 12s.)	18	8	0
Burton, one farm — —	1	11	8
Kirby Underwood, two farms, two cottages, (chief rent 6s. 8d.) —	4	14	5
Morton manor houſe, five farms, eight cottages,	26	3	7
Harnthorpe, four farms, three cottages, (chief rent 13s. 7d.) — —	11	4	7
Rippinghall, one farm, and one cottage, (chief rent 11s. 11d.) — —	9	7	11
Hackenby, one farm, (chief rent 3s. 2d.)	2	6	6
Dyke, one farm —	1	13	4
Billingborough, four farms, (chief rent, 8s. 8d.)	8	4	8
Lounde, one farm —	3	13	4
Swineſhead, four farms, and two cottages, (chief rent, 2d.) — —	34	18	0
Boſton, two houſes, an orchard, and a paſture	4	16	8
Waplode and Holbeach land (ſold 1578.)	3	9	10
Sum total of all and ſingular the annual rents, under the collection, charge, and receipt of John Okeley, my bailiff, his aſſigns, or deputy, anno Dom. 1577, 20 Eliz. —	212	0	3

The

The Rental of all my Lands and Tenements under the Receipt and Bailiwick of John Stokes, as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
Paunton Magna manor house, four farms, six cottages and mill, and 11s. chief rent, belonging unto Paunton Magre. —	19	6	1
North Stoke, eight farms, four cottages, and a mill — —	20	18	8
Sum total of all the annual rents under the collection, charge, and receipt, of John Stokes, my bailiff, his assigns, or deputy, anno Dom. 1577, 20 Eliz. — —	40	4	9

Whissondine Rents under the Receipt and Bailiwick of George Grantham, as followeth:

Whissondine, nine farms, eight cottages, (quit rent, 9d.) —	59	17	10
Walcot, the parsonage —	23	6	8
Sum total of all the annual rents of all and singular the lands and tenements of Thomas Cony, Esq. in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland, including the lands and tithes in his own tenure and occupation, valued, by estimation, as particularly before appeareth. — —	445	9	6

III. *On the Analogy between certain antient Monuments.* By Richard Gough.

Read Jan. 26, 1792.

ACCIDENTALLY looking into a Latin eſſay of Paſſeri [*a*], on a bronze figure of a boy, inſcribed on one arm with Etruſcan letters, depoſited by Pope Clement XIV. in

[*a*] Paſſeri de pueri Etruſco aheneo ſimulacro diſſertatio. Rom. 1771, 4to.

the Vatican Muſeum, I met with a figure, repreſented p. xiv. from the author's own collection, which bears ſo ſtriking an analogy to the figure of Eſculapius, engraved in the ninth volume of Archæologia, p. 109, that I cannot forbear communicating it to the Society.

It exhibits a boy, or young man, naked, recumbent, laying the right hand on the right knee, and holding by the neck, in the left hand, a ſerpent twiſted round the left arm. Paſſeri calls it *a patient afflicted with the dropſy, or ſome other diſorder*; 'vir decumbens et morbo aut hydrope tumidus.' Gori, in his Muſeum Etruſcum, plate xxxvii. exhibits a figure ſtanding, holding a ſerpent in its right hand, in the ſame manner; and Tab. vii. viii. two female figures, whom he calls the goddeſs *Valentia* [*b*], in ſimilar attitudes.

Gori annexed to all theſe figures the idea of deities. They were rather votive figures addreſſed to deities for favours received. The favorite ſymbol of Eſculapius is here combined with the patients of different ages, who acknowledged themſelves indebted to his aid for the reſtoration of their health.

It is by no means improbable, that the little image, which makes the ſubject of Paſſeri's diſſertation, held in its left arm the ſame ſymbol, the lower joint being broken off, and on the upper, inſcribed three imperfect lines in Etruſcan characters, expreſſive of the child's name, and thoſe of his parents.

The conformity of fragments of antiquity found in different countries is at leaſt an amuſing ſubject, and frequently furniſhes new lights in the illuſtration of theſe pieces. The univerſal collection of Count Caylus affords ample materials for ſuch a companion. To inſtance only a medal of Gordian [*c*],

[*b*] Mentioned by Solinus, Tertullian, and inſcriptions.

[*c*] Caylus, Recueil iv. Pl. lvii. 1, 2. p. 169. Pellerin, Mêlange de diverſes Médailles, II. 195. Pl. xxxi.

ſtruck at *Daldia*, in Mæonia, a town mentioned only by Ptolomey and Suidas, and the birth place of Artemidorus, author of the Oneirocritica. On the reverſe of this medal we ſee Diana and her two nymphs lying under a tree or grove, in a bath or ſtream, the water of which is poured on them from the hands of a winged Cupid. Another figure without wings, but by the bow in his left hand fairly preſumable to be another Cupid, though by Caylus taken for Actæon, attends at the ſide of the foremoſt figure, who, thence, may be preſumed to be the principal, or Diana. At the feet of the three recumbent figures is ſeen a ſtag trippant, his head turned back, as if looking at them; and in the diſtance is a temple, with a female figure ſitting, holding a bow, or as Pellerin, a crown. Let us for a moment compare this medal with the teſſelated pavement at Leiceſter, the ſubject of which has given ſo much trouble to Antiquaries, and of which Mr. Carter's finiſhed drawing is in poſſeſſion of the Society. We ſhall ſee the medal confirms the deſign of the pavement; and yet it is the ſame in both.

The beautiful bronze figure from Cirenceſter, engraved in Archæologia, Vol. VII. plate 28, p. 405, might find an appropriation by comparing it with a figure of a flying Cupid in Gori's Muſeum Etruſcum, pl. xliv. for, that the Cirenceſter figure had wings, ſeems beyond a doubt, and, though there be nothing left in its hands, they are poiſed to aſſiſt its flight.

Even the pottery found in Lombard-ſtreet, 1786, will admit of a compariſon with ſome diſcovered in the baths at Niſmes and Rome, and elſewhere, engraved by C. Caylus, II. plate ci. cxix. cxx. cxxi. and will ſerve to eſtabliſh the Count's opinion of the ceremonial intercourſe between Gaul and Britain, from the conformity of taſte, ornament, manufacture, and frequently of names of the makers on theſe earthen vaſes.

I might

I might adduce one farther proof of this aſſertion, in the reſemblance of the Moſaic pavement found at Saguntum, now Morviedro, in Spain [*d*], with that at Stunsfield, in Oxfordſhire, both exhibiting a ſimilar deſign of Bacchus holding his thyrſus, and riding on a tiger.

Theſe, it is true, are but inferior inſtances in proof of an idea which might, with a little attention, be eſtabliſhed by many of a ſuperior kind.

[*d*] Caylus, vol. II. plate cvii, page 365.

IV. *Obſervations on* Kits Coity Houſe, *in* Kent. *In a Letter to* Samuel Foart Simmons, *M. D. F. R. and A. SS. By* William Boys, *Eſq.* F. A. S.

Read Feb. 9, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

IN travelling ſome time ago from this place to London, I turned a few miles out of my way to ſee Kits Coity Houſe. If you ſhould think the obſervations I made upon the ſpot, and the thoughts that have occurred to me ſince, may be acceptable, I beg leave, by your means, to communicate them to our Society.

Mr. Colebrook [*a*] and Mr. Groſe [*b*] have ſo fully and accurately deſcribed this antient monument, that very little can be added to what they have ſaid of it. One thing, however, ſtruck me, when I ſaw the place, that ſeems to have eſcaped the notice of all who have mentioned the ſubject. The ground between the monument and the ſingle ſtone ſpoken of by thoſe gentlemen, and repreſented in their plates, runs eaſt and weſt, in a broad ridge, ſomewhat contracted at each end, giving one an idea of a common turfed grave, with a head and foot-ſtone, on a large ſcale. Was this a tumulus, covering the remains of thoſe of one party, who fell in the

[*a*] Archæologia, vol. II. p. 107.
[*b*] Antiquities of England, &c. vol. II.

battle ?

battle? And might there not have been, originally, a ſimilar appendage to the other ſtone monument, now worn down in the encloſure of cultivation, covering the remains of the other party? Theſe turfed graves might contain the bodies both of the chiefs and their followers; while the ſtone erections themſelves might be raiſed to commemorate the two princes; a ſepulchral honour, perhaps appropriated at that time to dignified characters only. I am aware, that much larger tumuli have been raiſed over ſingle bodies; but I apprehend, if only one corpſe had been placed in this repoſitory, the mound would have been circular, and the ſtones would have been at the top in the centre.

The hiſtory of events at the firſt arrival of the Saxons in Britain is obſcure and contradictory. But the following circumſtances ſeem to have been generally admitted, and are ſelected as neceſſary to elucidate what may be ſaid of theſe monuments. The Britons under Vortigern, in the middle of the fifth century, invited over the Saxons, to defend them from the attacks of the Picts and Scots. Theſe hardy ſoldiers of fortune readily accepted the invitation, and landed, under Hengiſt and Horſa, at Ebbesfleet, in Thanet, on the North ſide of the eaſtern mouth of the Portus Rutupinus. That iſland was immediately put into their hands [*c*], and became their head quarters; but theſe warriors ſoon found means to enlarge their boundary, and by treaty or conqueſt became poſſeſſed of all Kent. The Britons now found themſelves in as much danger from their auxiliaries as from their enemies; and, rouſed to action by the perfidy of Vortigern, and the encroachments of the Saxons, they depoſed their king, and raiſed his ſon Vortimer to the throne. This young monarch

[*c*] Nennii Hiſt. Brit. c xxviii.

fought

fought ſeveral battles with the Saxons, and, in particular, one at Aeillſtreu [*d*], Ægeleſthrip [*e*], Ægliſthrop [*f*], Epifford [*g*], as the name is variouſly written, and which our beſt antiquaries ſuppoſe to be Ailesford, near Maidſtone, in Kent. In this battle fell Horſus [*g*], Horſa [*g*], or Hors [*g*], the brother of Hengiſt, and Catigirnus [*g*], Categirn [*g*], or Categis [*b*], the brother of Vortimer.

When the two Saxon brothers and joint commanders acquired the government of Kent, it is probable they made a diviſion of the whole into two parts. Hengiſt, the elder brother, we will ſuppoſe, took the Weſtern diviſion, and fixed himſelf on the banks of the Thames, in the poſt of honour neareſt his enemies, leaving the coaſt and the eaſtern diſtrict to the care and ſuperintendance of Horſa; who, moſt likely, ſeated himſelf ſomewhere on the banks of the Medway. *Horſted*, therefore, may poſſibly derive its name from Horſa: but why in commemoration of his death? Ꞩtebe, in Saxon, ſignifying *place*, applies at leaſt as well to his reſidence as to his ſepulchre. The heap of flints at Horſted, mentioned by Mr. Colebrook, is properly diſpoſed of by that gentleman [*i*]; and the large ſtones noticed there by Mr. Haſted do not ſeem to have had any particular deſignation. We muſt therefore ſearch at ſome other ſpot for Horſa's monument; and to what more probable ſpot can we turn our attention than to the fields of battle at Ailesford? Here we find two remarkable ſtructures of ſtone, the one in good preſervation, the other at

[*d*] Saxon Chronicle.
[*e*] Aſſer, Annal.
[*f*] Marc.
[*g*] Nennius
[*b*] William of Malmſbury.
[*i*] Archæologia, vol. II. p. 110.

a little

a little diſtance on lower ground to the Southward, in ruins. The firſt conſiſts of four ſtones only; the other of nine at leaſt; one of which is nearly twelve feet long, and twenty-one inches thick.

If we believe that Horſa and Catigern were ſlain in a battle fought at Ailesford; that the conteſt was about the place where Kits Coity Houſe ſtands; and that ſtructures of ſtone were ſet up to commemorate the fall of theſe princes; we may then, I think, conclude very reaſonably, that *theſe* are the memorials of Horſa and Catigern. But the matter, if I miſtake not, may be reduced to a tolerable degree of certainty by a proper attention to the name at preſent appropriated to one of theſe erections, which, perhaps, originally was given to neither of them, but to the tracts of land on which they ſtand; in other words, to the field of battle. Kits Coity Houſe, as now written, and generally interpreted, ſeems to have no meaning. If the ground there has been a ſheep-walk, why ſhould this place of ſhelter have been appropriated in its appellation to one ſhepherd more than to another, when all of them muſt in ſucceſſion have made the ſame uſe of it? Mr. Groſe's etymology is more plauſible; and I ſay nothing againſt it: but I will venture to propoſe another, which ſeems to apply better to all the circumſtances of the caſe. The word, I ſhould ſuppoſe, is Saxon, and was written at firſt Cid-cateȝ-hoꝼꝼ. *The place of contention between Cautey* (for ſo it might have been pronounced) *and Hors*: and *Kid Cautey Hors*, by the common people, who are apt to aſſimilate unknown ſounds to familiar ones, even of no meaning, has been corrupted to Kits Coity Houſe.

Before I conclude, I would add a few words on the *campus et lapis tituli ſuper ripam Gallici maris*, where Nennius [*k*] and

[*k*] Hiſt. Brit. c. xlvi.

others [*l*] ſay the Saxons were routed with ſlaughter, and driven to their veſſels and iſlands for ſafety, by Vortimer, and where that prince is ſaid to have directed his body to be buried, *ad compeſcendos Saxonum furores.*

Mr. Somner [*m*] contends that *Folkeſtone*, and Mr. Battely [*n*] that *Stone* by Lydd, muſt be the place here meant, though it appears clearly, that neither of them would have objected to *Stonar*, if they had not been convinced in their own minds that Stonar was at that time a part of Thanet. But they were both moſt certainly miſtaken; as Stonar was then either buried altogether in the æſtuary, or, which is more probable, juſt emerging from its bed, and forming the South-eaſt point of its mouth in a long range of beach-ſtones; whence it acquired its name of Ꞓtanope, Stanope, *ora lapidea orientalis.* And here ſurely a *lapis tituli* was as likely to be ſet up as on Dengeneſs; and it might have been fixed here at the firſt coming of the Saxons, to ſhew the extent of the territory conceded to them by the Britons. The *campus juxta lapidem* might be the higher ground on which Sandwich now ſtands, and its neighbourhood; and the expreſſion *ſuper ripam Gallici maris* is certainly as applicable to any part of the land between the two forelands as to the coaſt near Lydd or Folkeſtone.

Vortimer had purſued the Saxons from the interior parts of Kent; and, preſſing cloſe on their rear, came to blows with them, probably in the act of embarkation, and before they could reach their larger veſſels of tranſport. A fugitive army, reduced to the neceſſity of a diſorderly embarkation, muſt be

[*l*] Galf. Mon. vi. 13.
[*m*] Roman Ports, &c. p. 94. 98.
[*n*] Antiq. Rutup. p19.

much

much at the mercy of the purſuers, and loſe many men: and the great ſlaughter made at this place might ſuggeſt the thought to Vortimer, if the anecdote be true, of having his body buried here, as a memento of the Britiſh proweſs; which a conſpicuous object raiſed over his remains would ever after, as ſoon as ſeen, recal very forcibly to the memory of the Saxons. A church, for inſtance, at Stonar, would perpetually preſent itſelf to the view of the Saxons in their iſland, and of thoſe who ſhould approach the port from abroad [*o*].

The Portus Rutupinus, without a doubt, was the harbour to which the Saxons, after their firſt eſtabliſhment in Thanet, always reſorted. It was, in fact, their own port, while they occupied that iſland; and it was probably at that time, as well as afterwards [*p*], the moſt famous port of Britain. In coming from the Elbe to the South-eaſt part of England, they conſtantly made the North Foreland; and as ſoon as they had paſſed that headland, this port preſented itſelf to their view. Would they, in their ſenſes, paſs by it, increaſing the length and hazard of the voyage, to ſeek a harbour of leſs commodious acceſs at Folkeſtone or Lydd?

Might the word *campus* have relation to the Roman ſtation at Richborough, known perhaps to the Saxons and Britons of that time by the name of the camp? It was certainly uſed in that ſenſe by ſome of the writers of the lower age. The place was juſt ſuch an elevated and inſulated ſpot as the Saxons would with to occupy, when preſſed by an enemy, and neceſſitated to take ſhipping. The foot of the hill was waſhed

[*o*] Vortimer, however, ſeems not to have been buried as he directed; for Nennius buries him at Lincoln, and Geoffry of Monmouth, at Troinovant, or London.

[*p*] Emmæ reginæ Encom.

by the ſea, and they could ſtep from the bank into their boats. The poſt was a ſtrong one ; but the Britons, we may ſuppoſe, ſtormed and carried it. The ſtony bank, at Stonar, lay in its front, and the *lapis tituli*, if erected there, could not be more than 260 rods diſtant.

Or, might not the *lapis tituli* have been placed on this very hill within the walls of the caſtle, where I have actually diſcovered the foundation of a ſolid ſtone-building, raiſed upon the platform of the prætorium, that might well have ſerved for a *lapis tituli ?* In this caſe, the words *campus juxta lapidem tituli* might be deſcriptive of the extenſive *ground* without the walls of the caſtle near the *boundary-ſtone* within its area.

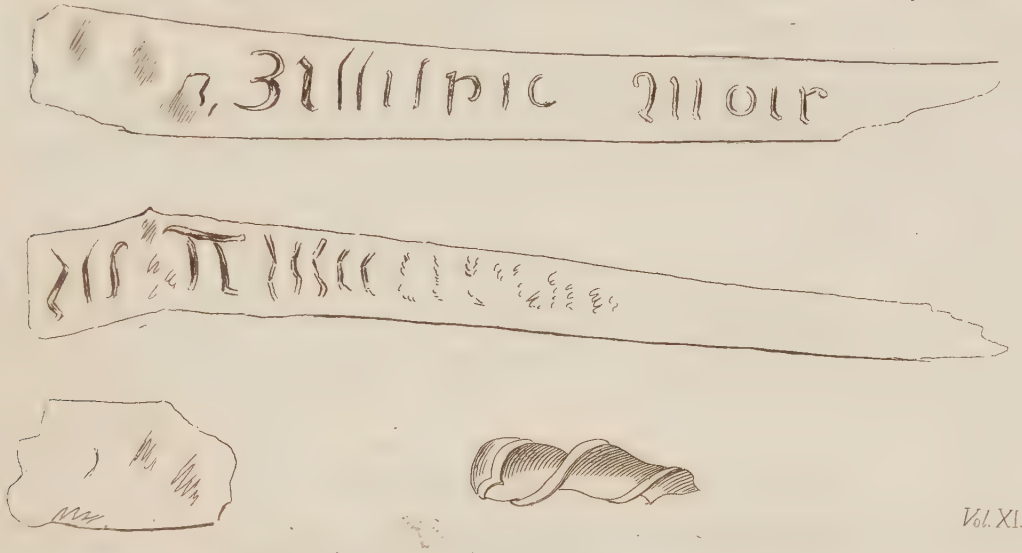
Where the evidence is ſo deficient, it would be ridiculous to form a deciſive opinion. I ſtate the different conjectures that have ariſen in my mind in conſidering the ſubject, and ſhall be contented, if any of them ſhall be thought to be founded in probability.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful ſervant,

Sandwich, 29*th Jan.* 1792. W. BOYS.

V. *Some Account of a Symbol of antient Inveſtiture in* Scotland. *In a Letter from* Robert Riddell, *Eſq. F.A.S. to Mr.* Gough.



Vol. XI. p. 45.

Read February 16, 1792.

SIR,

SOME time ago I met with one of the oldeſt ſymbols of antient inveſtiture perhaps now to be met with in Scotland. It is a ſmall ſilver ſword, which has long been preſerved in the family of *Lany*, and which, afterwards by a marriage, came into the family of Buchanan of Arnprior. Upon the forfeiture of that family, for engaging in the rebellion of 1745, this ſword being found in their charter-cheſt was lodged in the Court of Exchequer, along with the papers of the family, and a few

a few years ſince, was, together with the eſtates, reſtored. When I was in Edinburgh, in the year 1789, with my late friend the learned Francis Groſe, Eſq. Antony Barclay, Eſq. writer to the ſignet, did me the favour to allow Capt. Groſe to make a drawing of the remains of the little ſilver ſword with which Culenus, king of Scotland, who ſucceeded to the throne about the year 965, inveſted Gilleſpic Moir with this eſtate, of which Alexander II. King of Scotland, in 1227, granted a charter of confirmation, narrating the foregoing circumſtance, which ſtill exiſts in the archives of the family of Buchanan of Arnprior; and of which I here give a copy.

Carta Alexandri II. anno 1227. Alano de Lani.

'Alex. Dei gratia Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ ſuæ ſalutem. Sciatis nos dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, et hac preſenti carta noſtra confirmaſſe Alano de Lani, et Margaretæ de Lani, filie quondam Gilleſpic de Lani, militis, terras de eodem infra vicecomitat. de Perth, que quondam fuerunt dicte Margarete, et quod ipſa nulla vi aut metu ducta, ſed mera ſua voluntate apud Schon, per fuſtem, et baculum, nobis ſurſim redidit, Tenend. et Habend. ipſis et heredibus adeo libere et quiete ſicut ipſa Margareta tenuit ſeu poſſedit ante hanc reſignationem virtute Gladij parvi quem *Culenus* Rex, olim ſymbolice dedit Gilleſpic Moir, predeceſſori ſue, pro dicto ſingulari ſervitio. Reddendo inde nobis et heredibus noſtris ſervitium debitum et conſuetum. In cujus rei teſtimonium ſigillum noſtrum magnum apponi fecimus. Teſtibus G. Epis. Dunkelden. Waltero filio Alani Seneſcallo Juſticiario Scotie, Willielmo . . . . . Joanne de Bail . . . . . M'Peid . . . . . Schan. 5to Octobris, anno regni 13^tio^' (i. e. anno Dom. 1227).'

While I am upon this ſubject I ſhall mention two other inſtances of antient inveſtiture in Scotland. The lairds of Skein were wont to receive inveſtiture of their lands by their ſovereign's preſenting them with an antient durk, which took its riſe, according to Sir George M'Kenzie, from the following circumſtance. A ſecond ſon of Robertſon of Struan, for killing with his durk, in Stocket foreſt, a wolf, which had attacked the king, got a grant of lands, and the name of *Sk'ein*, which ſignifies, in Gallic, a durk; and for ſeveral ages the family received inveſtiture of theſe lands by this durk.

The lairds of M'Leod were accuſtomed prior to the reign of James I. to receive from the kings of Scotland inveſtiture of their great eſtates by being girt with a ſword by the ſovereign.

Other inſtances might be given. The Strathbolgie family, earls of Athol, according to the phraſe, were *cincti cum gladio comitatus Atholiæ.*

I ſhall mention one other inſtance of inveſtiture at preſent in exiſtence. The poſterity of the ſextons, that attended at the cathedral church of Liſmore, are called the barons of Bachel, and are in poſſeſſion of lands which they hold by preſerving the *Baculum More*, or the biſhop's paſtoral ſtaff or croſier; and by the tenor of their charter they forfeit their property if they loſe this croſier. Their original charter they had from the biſhops of the iſles, and it has been renewed by the Argyle family after the ſame form.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Friars Carſe, 13*th Dec.* 1791. R. RIDDELL.

VI. *Obſer-*

VI. *Obſervations on a Greek Inſcription at* London. *By Mr.* Gough. *In a Letter to the Rev.* T. W. Wrighte, *Secretary.*

Read Feb. 23, 1792

DEAR SIR,

THE drawing [*a*] that accompanies this was purchaſed by me at the late Dr. Lort's ſale, and repreſents a bas releif on white marble, found by Mr. Milles, a builder, among the ruins of a houſe at Iſlington. The date of this diſcovery is not mentioned, nor when it was fixed up in the front of a warehouſe in High Timber-ſtreet, near Labour-in-vain-hill. But it muſt have been at leaſt twenty years ago, as I recollect to have heard of it from our late treaſurer Mr. Colebrook, who died 1775. I ſought for it without ſucceſs, ſo long ago, and having repeated my inquiries after it ſince I became poſſeſſed of the drawing, I had the mortification to find that the houſe wherein it was fixed had been re-built, and no intelligence was to be obtained of the figure.

In this uncertainty where this figure came from originally, or may at preſent be concealed, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that it repreſents the antient *Retiarius*, a ſort of gladiator, armed with a *net*, to caſt over his adverſary, and a *trident* to diſpatch him thus entangled. The bas relief dug up at Cheſter, and engraved in the Vetuſta Monumenta, Vol. I. p. 65, is a happy illuſtration of this monument. The

[*a*] See Plate II.

Retiarius

Bas relief at London.

Retiarius there, holds the trident in his right, and the net pendant at his ſide in his left hand; and has on his right ſhoulder a kind of ſhield or covering, like that which, on ſome of our braſs ſepulchral plates, is called the *gonfanon*, and appears above each ſhoulder. Profeſſor Ward's explanation of the former is applicable to the preſent inſtance: "Quod dextro geſtat humero a vetere ſcholiaſte in Juvenalem, Sat. VIII. 208. *galerus* dicitur, quem ita deſcribit. Galerus eſt humero impoſitum gladiatoris hujuſmodi aliquid, quo citius ſparſum funem vel jactatum retium colligat." Its uſe was to aſſiſt him in recovering the net if he miſſed his caſt. In a moſaic given by Bartoli, engraved in the ſame plate, this *galerus* appears on the *left* ſhoulder, which the profeſſor apprehends to be an error of the artiſt: for, that the net was caſt with the right hand, we have the authority of Juvenal;

——— movet ecce tridentem
Poſtquam librata pendentia retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit ———

implying, that, as ſoon as he had miſſed his throw, he had recourſe to his trident. Another conformity between the preſent and the Cheſter Retiarius is the belt or girdle tight round his waiſt. That figure is naked; but this has a kind of apron or drapery below the belt, but apparently unconnected with it. This figure holds a dagger in his left hand inſtead of a net.

The monument is ſepulchral; and the inſcription in Greek capitals ſets forth, that it was put up by ——— *Ania Martia to her huſband.*

I am, &c.

Feb. 7, 1792. R. GOUGH.

VII. *Notices of the Manor of* Cavendiſh, *in* Suffolk, *and of the* Cavendiſh *Family while poſſeſſed of that Manor.* *By* Thomas Ruggles, *Eſq.* F. A. S.

Read May 3, 1792.

Vol. XI. p. 50

CAVENDISH OVERHALL. S.E. VIEW

THE various opportunities which antiquity gives the genealogiſt to compliment greatneſs at the expence of veracity are ſo obvious, that particular inſtances to prove the aſſertion cannot be neceſſary. The genealogic tree ſeldom bears any fruit on its branches but ſuch as are fair to the eye of Pride, and pleaſant to the palate of Greatneſs. The ar-

cana of remote times are not protruded upon the view, when they are calculated to give an humble leſſon to the pride of anceſtry; and, were this not the caſe, the reſearches of the antiquary would not in all inſtances be able, with certainty, to trace a pedigree up to the original founders of families, whoſe firſt emerſion from obſcurity to riches or renown lies hidden by the duſt of antiquity, which has been collecting for ages; were it his intention, that truth ſhould predominate, although at the expence of vanity.

I was led into this train of reflection, by a careful inveſtigation of ſome Suffolk papers, which were purchaſed at a ſale of Mr. Martin's manuſcripts about the year 1773; and, by comparing thoſe relating to the village of Cavendiſh with ſome Court rolls and original title deeds of the manor of Cavendiſh Overhall, for ſeveral centuries, the property of, and which gave the patronymic name to a noble family, that ſtands as high in the opinion of the world for what conſtitutes true greatneſs, as it does in this country for titular nobility.

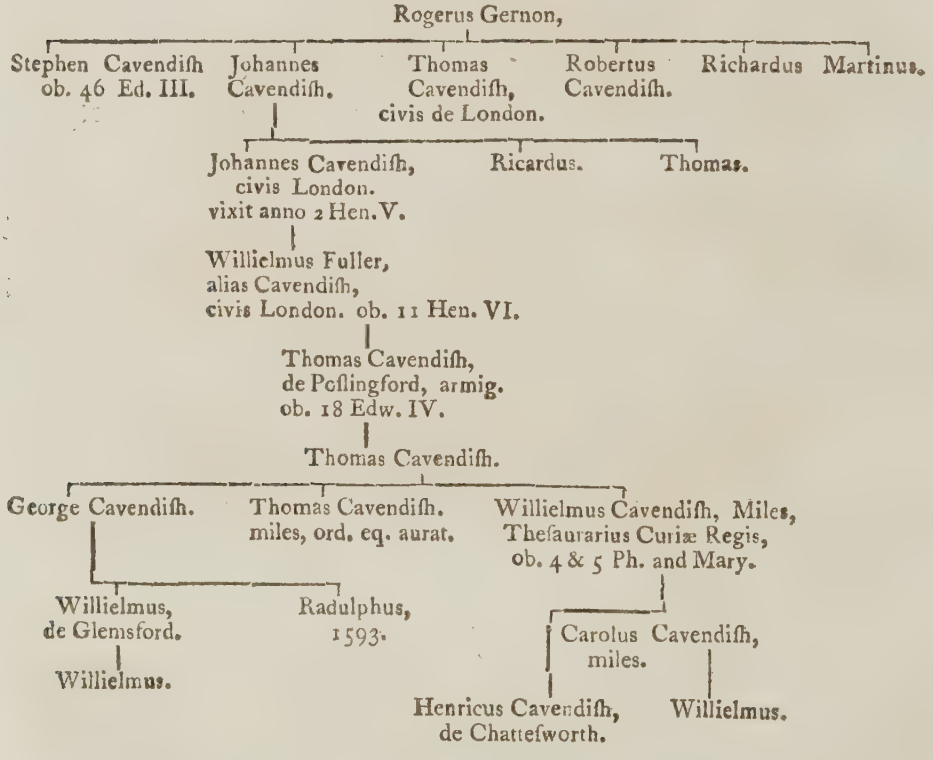
The difference of aſſertion, as to the origin of the poſſeſſions of this family in the village of Cavendiſh, is not greater in the printed accounts which may be found on this ſubject in our libraries, compared with each other, than thoſe accounts themſelves are different from the fact, which may be proved by records and original documents, to which recourſe may be had.

Guthrie, in a peerage which began to be publiſhed in numbers about 1760, but was left an imperfect work, ſays, that *Roger Gernon* married the daughter of John Potton, lord of Cavendiſh, and by her became the founder of the family of Cavendiſh; and that they had iſſue four ſons. Roger died in the ſeventeenth year of Edward the Second,

1324; and his eldeſt ſon John was Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench [*a*].

Morant, in his Hiſtory of Eſſex [*b*], tells us, that John de Cavendiſh was deſcended from *Robert Gernon*, that his father Sir John Gernon took the name of Cavendiſh from his ſeat of reſidence in that town; that by Catharine his wife, daughter

[*a*] This account he probably took from Collins, in his Hiſtorical Collections of the noble families of Cavendiſh, Hollis, &c. publiſhed in 1752; as he aſſerts the ſame fact, and refers for authority to the manuſcripts in the Cotton library ſub effigie Julii, F. xi. This reference has been examined, and no ſuch account found, but the following very imperfect ſketch of the genealogy of the Cavendiſhes.



It is obſervable that none of the female line of the family are mentioned in this genealogic ſketch, which has on the face of it every appearance of imperfection.

[*b*] Vol. II. p. 323, in Pentlow.

of

of John Smith, of Cavendiſh, Eſq. he had Sir John Cavendiſh, who was one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench. Neither Collins, Guthrie, or Morant, can ſtrengthen their aſſertions by Dugdale's authority, for he, in his Baronage, only ſays, 'this family was derived from the Gernons, which being ſeated at Cavendiſh, in Suffolk, aſſumed that place for their ſurname.'

The difference in their accounts is curious; the one calls the *Stipes* Roger, the other Robert; the one claims the daughter of John Potton, lord of Cavendiſh, as the heireſs of the Cavendiſh property, and the foundreſs of the family; the other, the daughter of John Smith; but the notices in my poſſeſſion prove both the aſſertions unfounded.

By an *inquiſitio poſt mortem* taken the 35th year of Edward I. 1306, it appears that John de Odyngſeles then held the manor of Cavendiſh of the king in capite.

Another notice of the ſame kind proves, that the manor continued in 1351 in the ſame family; for it is found, that 24 Edw. III. 'John de Giffard, et John de Bradfield, fuerunt tenentes manerii de Cavendiſh, jus Joannæ Odyngſeles, quod Hugo de Odyngſeles nuper tenuit de eodem rege, quo ſervitio ignoramus.'

The manor, therefore, was in the poſſeſſion of the family of *Odyngſeles*; in 1306 John held it; and in 1351 it was held to the uſe of Joanna Odyngſeles, and was before that the property of Hugh Odyngſeles. In the lapſe of forty-five years from 1306 John, Hugh and Joanna Odyngſeles had been in the poſſeſſion of it.

Therefore John Potton could not have held the manor at the time of his death in 1324, nor at the time of his daughter's marriage.

And by a fine levied 32 Edw. III. 1359, by John, the ſon of John de Odyngſeles, knight, to John Wingfield, knight, Gilbert

Gilbert de Debenham, John Cavendiſh, and Alice his wife, of the manor of Overhall and Cavendiſh, this manor paſſed into the Cavendiſh family.

And in 43 Edw. III. 1370, a fine is levied of the advowſon of Cavendiſh, and lands there, by Sir John Clinton, to John Cavendiſh, and Alice his wife, in tail.

The manor of Cavendiſh called Overhall therefore paſſed in 1359 from the family of the Odyngſeles to Sir John Cavendiſh, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; and the advowſon, and other lands in Cavendiſh, in 1370, from Sir John Clinton.

And there are not among the Suffolk papers relating to Cavendiſh any notices reſpecting the family of *Potton*, although there are ſome inquiſitions and Suffolk fines as far back as the end of the 13th century; nor of *Smith*, ſo early as the end of the 14th century; and Guthrie mentions the firſt intermarriage of the Cavendiſhes with the Smiths, in 1524.

By Dugdale's Chronica Series, in his Origines Juridiciales, it appears that John de Cavendiſhe was conſtituted in 1366 Capitalis Juſticiarius ad placita coram rege, &c. and that on the 5th of July 1373, he was again appointed to that office; and in 1377, the firſt of Richard the Second, he was in the ſame office, and received a grant of a hundred marks a year, by letters patent, bearing date the 26th of June; and that he was beheaded by the rebels in the fifth of Richard the Second; and before his death he made his will, dated at Bury St. Edmond, le Vendredi proſcheyn devant la feſte de Palmes, l'an du reigne le Roy Richard Seconde apres la conqueſte quart. Probat. 26 die Aug. A. D. 1381.

This will of the Chief Juſtice proves, that the head of a reſpectable family, who had many years enjoyed a very high and honourable office, had acquired but a trifling per-

ſonal property, and that a great proportion of that little was given away to charitable purpoſes, or ſuch as were of public benefit, and not to his family, although they do not appear to have been in affluent circumſtances; and it proves alſo, as does indeed the law of the land in thoſe times, that Collins and Guthrie are again miſtaken, in ſaying, that Sir John Cavendiſh deviſed his manor and lands in Cavendiſh, Fakenham, Aſpes, and Saxham, to Andrew Cavendiſh, his ſon and heir; as no lands are deviſed, or could then paſs by a deviſe; a copy therefore of this will, as found among the Suffolk papers belonging once to Mr. Le Neve, ſhall follow;

'In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus 'Sancti.

'Ego Joh'es Cavendyſche ſanæ mentis exiſtens condo teſ-'tamentum meum in forma quæ inferius deſcribitur. Impri-'mis, lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti, et corpus meum 'ad ſepeliendum in cancello eccleſiæ de Cavendyſch, coram 'ſummo altari prope ubi corpus Aliciæ nuper uxoris meæ 'jacet humatum; et quia lingua Gallica amicis meis et mi-'hi plus eſt cognata et magis communis et nota quam lin-'gua Latina, totum reſiduum teſtamenti mei prædicti in 'linguam Gallicam ſcribi feci, ut a dictis amicis meis fa-'cilius intelligatur. Primes J'ai ordeigne et deviſe, &c. Im-'primis, a Andrew Cavendyſsche un lit de worſtede, vermeil 'ove colourè teſter embroide et poudres de colombynes, et 'auxi ridelles de worſtede vermeyl, et beſtes pour cha-'rus [*c*] charettes en toutes le places, queux il aura apres 'moi par *deſcint de heritage*, &c. Item, a Roſe ſa feme un 'lit vermayl, &c. et un coupe d'argent en ou eſt emprente une 'roſe, c'eſt aſcavoir ceo que jeo avois de don de la Coun-'teſſe de la Marche. Item a Margarete leur file un lit de

[*c*] Poſſibly, char et charretes,

'ſaperye

'ſaperye poudre des popyngays: item a la feſaunce du chan-
'cell de Cavendyſſche en caas que la perſon alloques ou ces
'executoires le voillent commencer dedeins un an procheyn
'avener apres la Paſche creſuant 40li. Item a diſtribuer as
'poures decrepits, avoegles et anxiens, et as autres que ne
'poeuent travayler pour leurs ſuſtenance de villes ou jeo aye
'terres et tenements et foureynement a Cavendyſſche, Pente-
'low, Fakenham, Saxham, c'eſt aſcavoir a chaſcun ayant re-
'garde a ſa poverte et ſon meſchef ſelon la bone diſcretioun
'de mes executeurs 20li. de q'ueux 10li. a Cavendyſſche.'
Dated as above.

Whether the will of the Chief Juſtice, which reſpects his being buried near his wife Alice in the chancel of the church of Cavendiſh, was complied with, the documents in my poſſeſſion do not enable me to aſcertain.

To the Chief Juſtice his ſon Andrew ſucceeded in the poſſeſſion of this eſtate. He was knight of the ſhire in 1371, and was paid for his attendance forty-one days, eight pounds four ſhillings. He was alſo in 1386 ſheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, died in 1396, and was buried in the new abbey near the Tower of London, as appears from the will of his widow Roſe Cavendiſh, dated 1419. He left one ſon William.

John Cavendiſh, the ſecond ſon of the Chief Juſtice, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to Wat Tyler, the lord mayor having only wounded him in the neck; for which action he was knighted on the ſpot, and received from Richard the Second an annuity of forty pounds a year to him and his heirs. He is ſuppoſed to be the ſame John Cavendiſh to whom Henry the Fifth, in conſideration of his diſcretion, prudence, and fidelity, granted the office of Broaderer of his Wardrobe. He married Joan, daughter of Sir William Clopton, of Clopton, in Suffolk,

Suffolk, and left three ſons, William and Robert, executors of the will of Roſe Cavendiſh, and Walter Cavendiſhe.

William Cavendiſhe, citizen of London, and mercer, married Joan, the daughter of —— Staventon, and became poſſeſſed of this eſtate by virtue of a fine levied the 13th of Henry the Fourth, by William, the ſon and heir of Sir Andrew Cavendyſh, of the manor of Cavendyſh, called Overhall, which Roſe the late wife of Sir Andrew Cavendyſh then held in dower. He died in 1433, leaving one ſon, a minor; and by his will, dated Jan. 5, 1432, he directs, that if he ſhould die in London, he is to be buried in Mercers' chapel; if at Cavendiſh, or elſewhere in Suffolk, then his body to be buried in the pariſh church of St. Mary, Cavendyſh; and that 20l. ſhould be given to the church where he is buried; and that his executors provide an obit for him, his parents, and wife, in the churche of Cavendyſhe; and that they repair the highways between Poſlingford and Clare, as alſo the way between Cavendyſhe and Clare; and he gives to Pentelow and Poſlingford churches 5l. each, and appoints his brother Robert guardian of his ſon Thomas during his nonage, and conſtitutes the ſaid Robert one of his executors [*d*].

Robert Cavendyſhe, his brother, was a Serjeant at Law, and was alſo ſeiſed of this eſtate, by virtue of a fine paſſed by the ſaid William, the ſon of Andrew, in the ſame year, but ſubſequent to that before mentioned; as there is in my poſ-

[*d*] It appears by a memorandum among other church-notices taken in 1694, that there then exiſted in Cavendiſh church a monumental ſtone, on which was this inſcription, 'Hic jacet Willielmus Fuller.' Arms, three harts' heads caboſhed, horned Or; which probably lay over the body of this William Cavendiſh, whoſe name was alſo Fuller, as is probable from the manuſcript in the Cotton library.

ſeſſion a notice of a fine levied by William Cavendyſh, ſon and heir of Sir Andrew Cavendyſhe, to Robert Cavendyſhe, the thirteenth of Henry the Fourth, the firſt being marked Lig. 1. N° 111. the laſt, N° 112. He died in 1438 : for, an Inquiſition poſt mortem taken that year finds him dead without iſſue, ſeiſed of this manor ; and Alice, wife of William Nell, his couſin and heir, to wit, daughter of John, grandfather of Robert.

Thomas, the ſon of William, was deſigned both of Cavendiſh and Poſlingford, in Suffolk. He married Catharine Scudamore ; and in 1440, William Nell and Alice his wife levy a fine of the manor of Cavendyſhe Overhall to William Norwold, clerk, and others, as may be ſuppoſed to the uſe of Thomas Cavendyſh, becauſe the following extract ſhews it to have been in his poſſeſſion in the thirty-third of Henry the Sixth, anno 1455.

'Cavendyſh villa et manerium vocat' Overhall ibidem de 'diverſis prati et paſturæ ibidem diviſim jacentibus et per 'metas, &c. deſcriptas conceſſ. per Thomam Cavendyſh, 'arm. fil. et haer. W. Cavendiſh, nuper civis et mercator. 'London. Joh'ni Clopton, et aliis.' Dorſ. cl.

He died 1477, leaving one ſon, Thomas, and was buried in the church at Cavendyſhe, as there appears among the church-notices before alluded to the following :

Cavendyſh, 1477. S. three harts' heads caboſhed. A. attired. O.
G. a chevron between three maunches, O.

Thomas Cavendiſh, Eſq. was Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer until his death. He married Alice, daughter and co-heireſs of John Smith, of Podbrook hall, Eſq. and had by her four ſons. He does not appear to have been in poſſeſſion of this eſtate. He died in 1524.

George,

George, his eldeſt ſon, was in poſſeſſion of the manor of Cavendiſh Overhall, and had two ſons; William was the eldeſt, to whom, in the fourth year of Philip and Mary, 1558, he granted by deed enrolled in Chancery this manor in fee, on the ſaid William releaſing to his father one annual payment of twenty marks, and covenanting to pay him yearly for life at the ſite of the manſion-houſe of Spains Hall, in the pariſh of Finchingfield, in the county of Eſſex, forty pounds, at the four uſual quarterly days of payment. When George Cavendiſhe died is uncertain; but it is apprehended in 1561, or 1562.

William Cavendiſhe, his ſon, was in poſſeſſion of the manor in the fourth year of Elizabeth, as appears by the following receipt:

'Fourth Eliz. 1562, de Willielmo Cavendiſh, pro manerio de Cavendyſhe Overhall, Cavendyſh.

'reſpectu homagii xx.d.'

He was ſucceeded in this eſtate by his ſon,

William Cavendyſh, of London, mercer, who by that deſcription, and reciting himſelf to be the ſon of William Cavendiſhe, gentleman, deceaſed, by deed dated the 25th of July, in the eleventh year of the reign of Elizabeth, 1569, releaſed all his right and title to this eſtate, and to other lands lying in different pariſhes, to William Downes, of Sudbury in Suffolk, Eſq.

The Cavendiſh manor and eſtate, therefore, was alienated, and paſſed in 1569 from the elder branches of the Cavendiſhes. In the mean time a younger branch of the family deſcended from Thomas Cavendiſh, Clerk of the Pipe, who left other ſons beſides George, viz. William and Tho-

mas. William laid the foundation, and almoſt reared the ſtructure of greatneſs which the Devonſhire family now poſſeſſes: but Guthrie is again miſtaken, when he ſays that George, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas, had two ſons, who both died without iſſue; whereas it has been proved from original deeds, that William, the eldeſt, had iſſue, a ſon, who alienated the eſtate to William Downes. Whether the elder branch of the Cavendiſh family be extinct by the death of William Cavendiſh, of London, mercer, without iſſue, I am not able to ſay; but ſhould preſume not, becauſe in the regiſter of Cavendiſh there is this notice: 'William Cavendiſh, ſon of Ralph Cavendiſh, gentleman, baptized 1612.'

From the family of Downes this eſtate was conveyed, in the eleventh of Elizabeth, to John Felton, of Overchryſall, in Eſſex; from John Felton, in the forty-firſt of Elizabeth, to George Howe, of Sudbury; from him in the forty-third of Elizabeth, to —— and Bridget Cracherode, daughters of Matthew Cracherode, of Cavendiſh, Eſq.; from the Cracherodes, the twentieth of James the Firſt, to Sir Stephen Soame, of Heydon, in Eſſex; from them to Iſaac Fuller, of Cavendiſhe, grocer, in the thirty-firſt of Charles the Second; from the Fullers to Wiliam Baſſet, of Milford, in Suffolk, clothier, in the thirteenth of William the Third; from the Baſſets to Samuel Thomas, of Lavenham, in Suffolk, in 1752; and from that family to the writer of theſe notices in 1791.

The ſite of the old manſion of Overhall is on a pleaſant knoll, or riſing ground, which overlooks the adjacent county, and has a pleaſant view of the meanders of the river Stour, which flows about half a mile diſtant. The remains of the moat which formerly ſurrounded the manſion may ſtill be ſeen, eſpecially on the North-weſt; and the fiſh-ponds, which for-

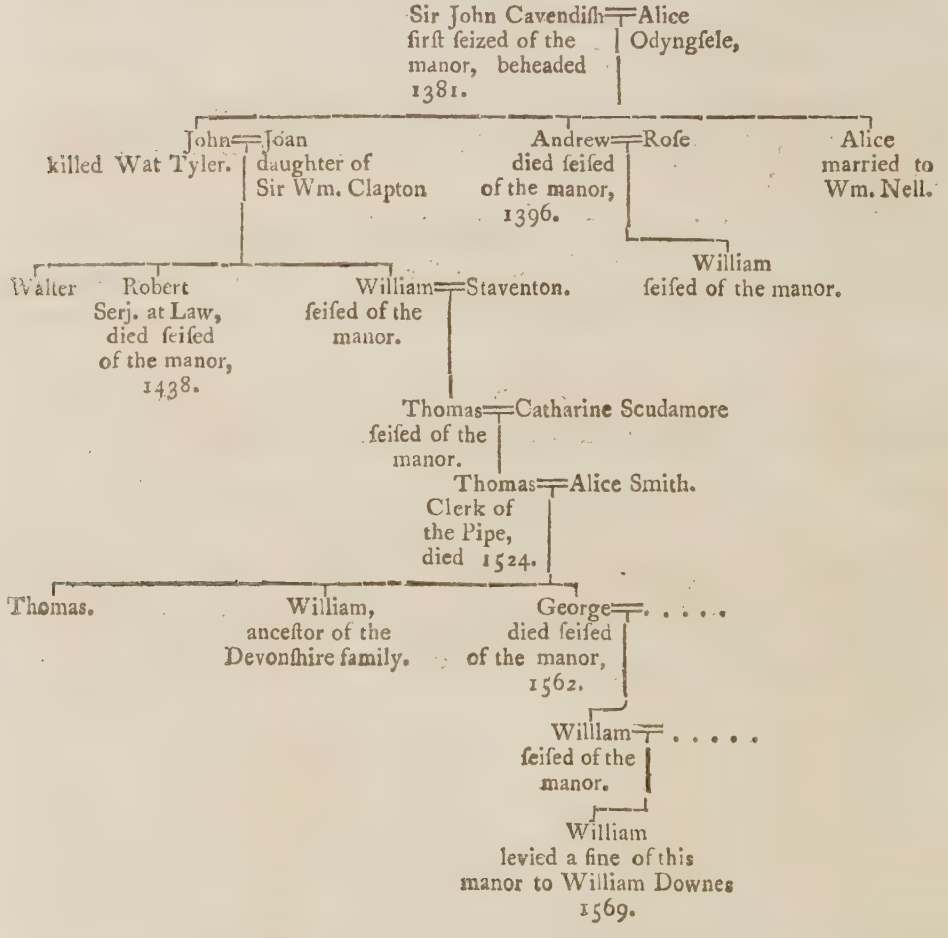
merly were a conſtant appendage to family manſions, ſtill remain. The front of the houſe appears as in the ſketch ſent herewith, copied from one taken by Mr. Johnſon of Woodbridge, in 1785, when he meaſured the eſtate. By a computus of the bailiff of the eſtate delivered to Mr. Cavendiſh at Michaelmas, the thirteenth of Henry the Eighth, the manſion appears to have undergone great repairs, as there is a long account, principally for the carriage of timber and materials, for the repairs of Overhall; and in the forty-third of Elizabeth, a great part of the manſion was pulled down, and the remainder fitted up for a farm houſe, as appears by a memorandum of the family of the Cracherodes, ſoon after it came into their poſſeſſion. No arms remain in any part of the building.

In the church is one flat marble in the center aile, containing at the bottom of the ſtone on ſeparate braſs eſcutcheons, three harts' heads caboſhed; a chevron between three maunches; but no inſcription. This ſtone is probably the ſame as was noticed in 1694. No other veſtiges of the family could be diſtinguiſhed in the church in December 1791.

In a houſe on the green may be ſeen three ſeveral ſtones, about a foot ſquare each, introduced into the cielings; the Cavendiſh arms, quartered with another family, are viſible; but the frequent whitewaſhings which the ſtones have undergone render the other changes impoſſible to be accurately aſcertained. T. R.

The

The Deſcent of the Family of Cavendiſh, *who were ſeiſed of the Manor of* Cavendiſh Overhall, Suffolk, *as proved by* Le Neve's *Memoranda and original Title Deeds.*



VIII. *Ac-*

VIII. *Account of ſome Roman Antiquities lately diſcovered in* Cumberland. *By the Rev.* D. Carliſle, *of* Carliſle. *Communicated by the Lord Biſhop of* Salisbury.

Read May 10, 1792.

THE antiquities from which the incloſed drawings [*a*] were taken have been all (except No. 23) found at Caſtleſteads or Cambeck fort. A few of them were diſcovered ſome time ago, but the greater part only laſt year, when the remains of the fort, as well as of the wall of Severus, for a conſiderable length, were dug up.

Caſtleſteads, called in the Notitia *Petrianæ*, was the ſixth ſtation from the Weſtern extremity of the wall. It was garriſoned by the Ala Petriana. In dimenſions and figure this fort did not differ materially from the other *caſtra* along the wall, being an oblong of an hundred and thirty yards by an hundred: but its ſituation, in one reſpect, was remarkable, as inſtead of coinciding with the vallum, it was built at the diſtance of nearly a quarter of a mile from it.

The walls of the fort have been long entirely levelled; and the area, which they incloſed, overgrown with bruſh-wood; however, the foundations might eaſily be traced, and many veſtiges of the ancient buildings were, within theſe few years, very diſtinguiſhable.

In digging in the ground which lies over the ruins, were found ſeveral coins of the Antonini and Severi, and ſome fragments of furniture, &c. of a much more modern date;

[*a*] Plates I.I. IV. V.

amongſt

amongſt the reſt, an iron lock, formed juſt as locks are at preſent, and a ſhilling of Edward the Fourth. Whence it ſhould ſeem, that ſome of theſe forts, after having been deſerted [*b*] upon the incurſion of the Picts in the year 416, were repaired in the middle ages, and converted into caſtles by the barons.

As the remains of the vallum itſelf, for near half a mile, were entirely dug up, Mr. Johnſtone, to whom the eſtate belongs, had an opportunity of examining the conſtruction of this curious remnant of Roman induſtry with the greateſt accuracy. Of this he gave me the following account. 'The breadth of the foundation was eight feet; the wall, where intire, was faced with large ſtones on both ſides, and the ſpace between them filled with rubbiſh ſtone to the depth of a foot; then a ſtrong cement of lime and ſand, about four inches thick; over that a foot of rubbiſh, and then a cover of cement as before; theſe layers were ſucceeded by others of rubbiſh and cement alternately, till the interſtice between the facing-ſtones was filled up to the top, and thus the whole became one ſolid connected maſs.'

The remarks upon theſe inſcriptions, which I have ventured to add, I ſubmit with the greateſt diffidence to the Society.

Plate III. fig. 1. From the dreſs of this figure not being Roman, and from its bearing a cornucopia in its hand, may we not conjecture that it was meant for ſome local *genius*, moſt of whom (as we ſee from Montfaucon, plate CC, &c.) were thus repreſented?

Fig. 2. The laſt line of this inſcription looked ſo like MINERVE, that I was at firſt induced to conſider the altar as

[*b*] Relictis civitatibus ac *muro*, fugiunt, diſperguntur.

BED. Hiſt. p. 50.

having

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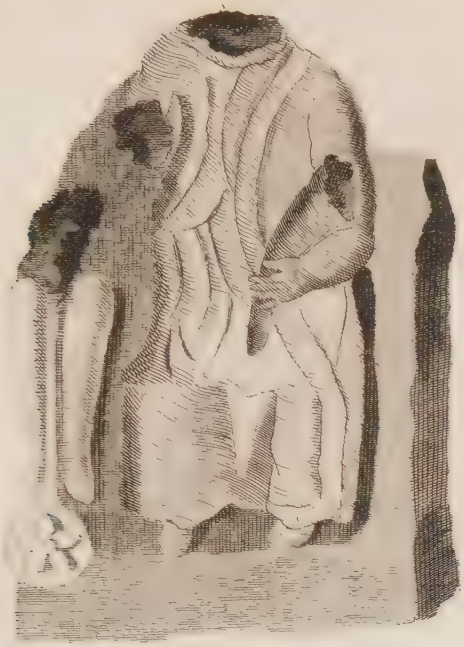

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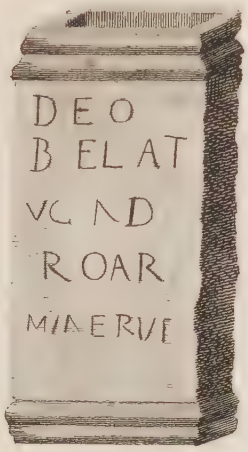

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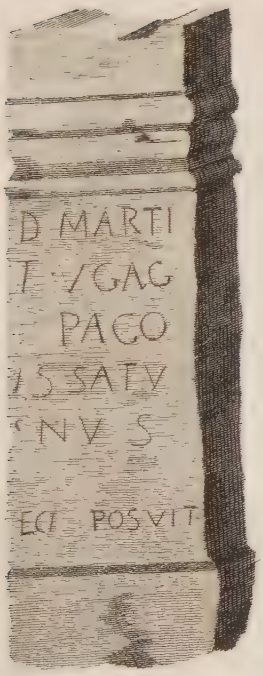

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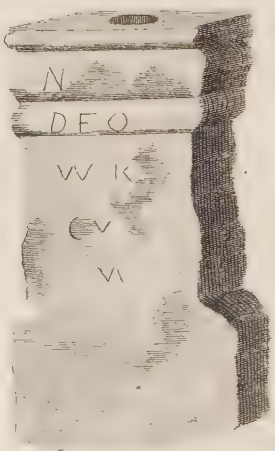

Roman Antiquities at Castlesteeds in Cumberland.

Bain

having been dedicated to Belatucader and Minerva, as Θεοι συμβωμοι, and I made it out thus: DEO BELATVCADRO A*tque* R*eginæ* MINERVÆ; but as I believe there is no inſtance of the epithet *Regina* being applied to Minerva, and as it is but ſeldom that we meet with an inſcription upon an altar, where the name of the perſon who erected it is not introduced, I ſhould prefer reading the whole, DEO BELATVCADRO ARAM M*eritò* E*rexit* RVFus.

This is the eighth altar which has been dug up in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall inſcribed to Belatucader. It has been thought by Selden, and many learned men, that the name of this god is no other than that of *Baal* or *Bel*, differently modified; and what conſiderably ſtrengthens this conjecture is the great number of inſcriptions diſcovered hereabouts where the Phœnician deities are indubitably mentioned. We have altars dedicated to the *Syrian Goddeſs*, to the *Tyrian Hercules*, to *Mithras*, to *Aſtarte*, all found within a ſhort diſtance from Petrianæ: why then ſhould we not think it probable that Belatucader (like Baalzephon, Baalpeor, Beelzebub, and many more), may be compounded of Baal, with ſome title annexed?

I do not lay much ſtreſs upon etymological arguments; but I cannot help remarking how very naturally the word Belatucader reſolves itſelf into *Bel* [and the Arabic epithet ذو قدر] *du cader* (potenti) an epithet frequently applied to the Deity himſelf in the Koran.

Nor was there any mode of forming the names for their gods and heroes more common amongſt the Orientals than by uniting an attribute with the poſſeſſive pronoun *du*; of this Pococke (Hiſt. Arab. Spec. pag. 104.) has given us no fewer than ten inſtances.

I read the inſcription fig. 3. D*eo* MARTI TVNG*rorum* AVG *uſtorum* . . . . . PAGONVS SATVRNVS FeCiT PoSVIT. The letters upon this altar, as well as the workmanſhip of the ſtone itſelf, are extremely rude; the former ſeem only to have been ſcratched with a nail: and indeed we may gather from the inſcription, that the perſon who dedicated the altar had made it himſelf.

Fig. 4. This little veſſel is compoſed of blackiſh clay, very different from any to be found in the neighbourhood. Perhaps it might have been a kind of lachrymatory.

Fig. 5. This head, apparently of a Roman ſoldier, is not ill executed.

Fig. 6, has no inſcription: on one ſide is ſculptured an axe and a ſacrificing knife; on the other a bird not unlike the Ibis.

Fig. 7, The inſcription here is almoſt entirely obliterated.

Plate IV. Fig. 8. The upper ſtone of a hand-mill.

Fig. 9. Four or five of theſe ſmall troughs were dug up in different parts of the fort, and one in the foundation of the vallum itſelf. They were all found inverted.

Fig. 10. ſeems a rude ſculpture of Hercules, though it is not eaſy to ſay what is meant by the necklace about his neck. We are informed by Lucian that the Gauls did worſhip this deity under the name of Ogmius; but one cannot imagine the figure upon our altar to have been intended for the Celtic Hercules, who was the God of Eloquence, and repreſented under the ſymbol of an old man with a club, drawing a number of followers after him by a chain faſtened to their ears.

Fig. 11. This altar is finiſhed with more neatneſs than any of the others, and the letters are as ſharp as if they were only juſt cut. The whole of the word AVGVSTI was evidently intended

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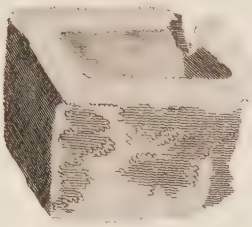

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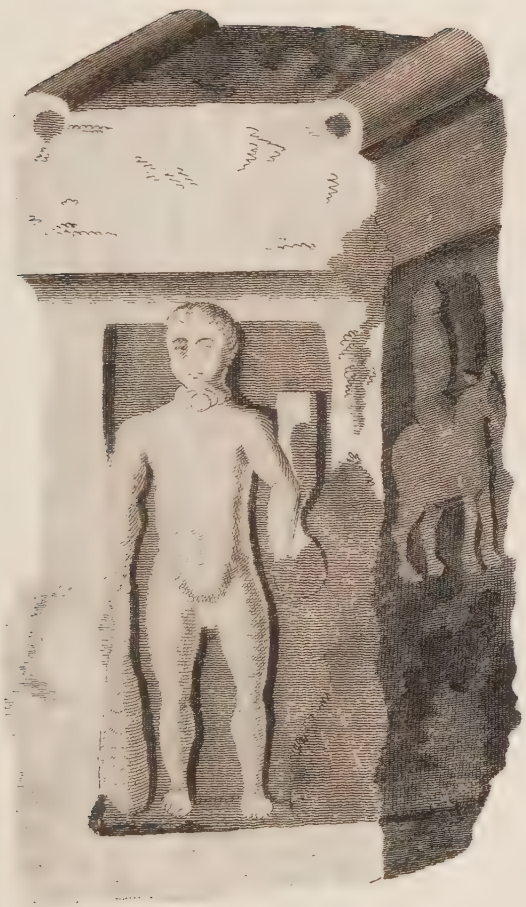

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Roman Antiquities at Castlesteeds in Cumberland. Basire

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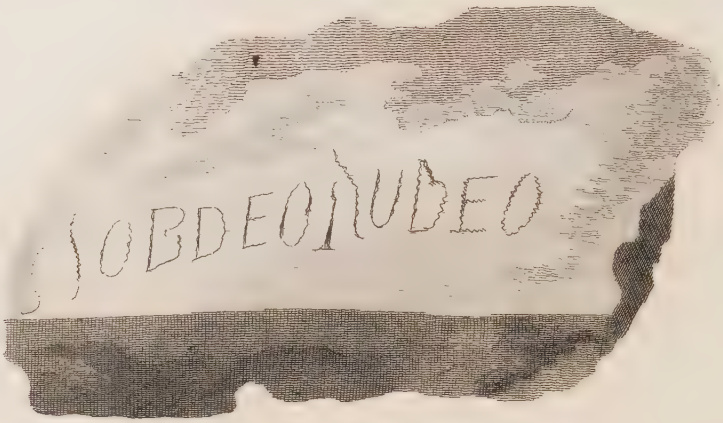

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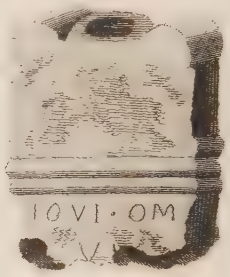

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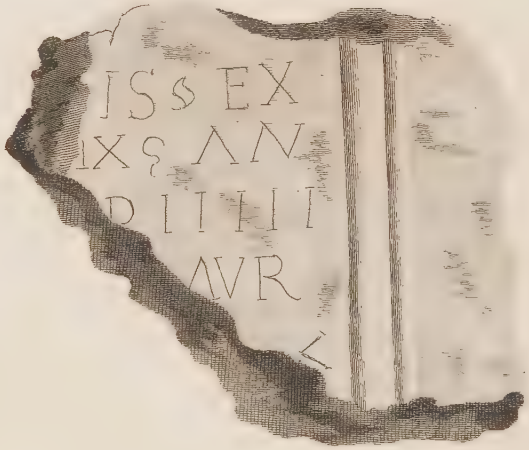

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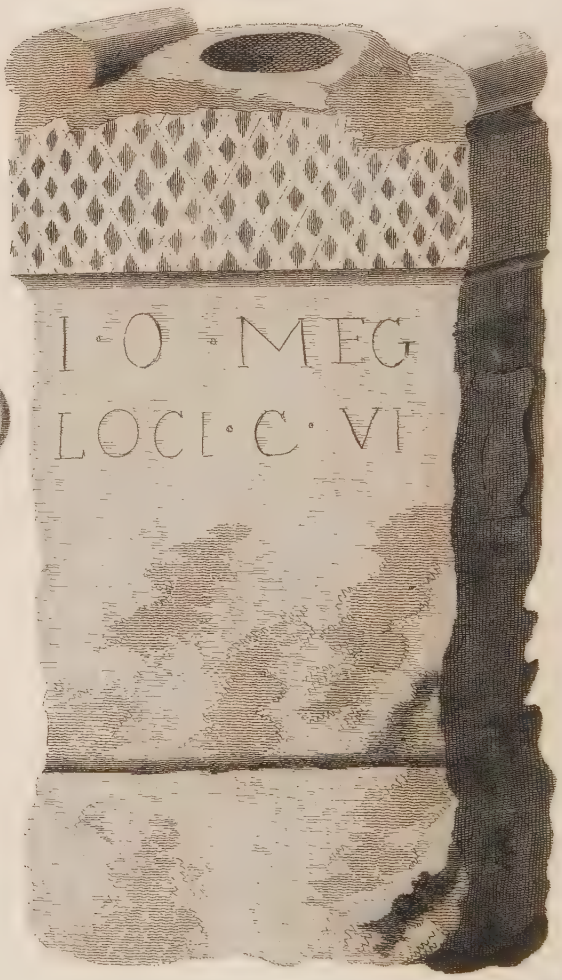

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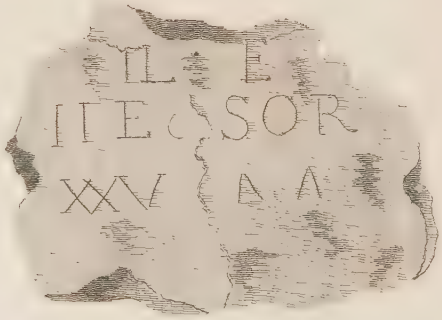
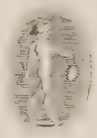
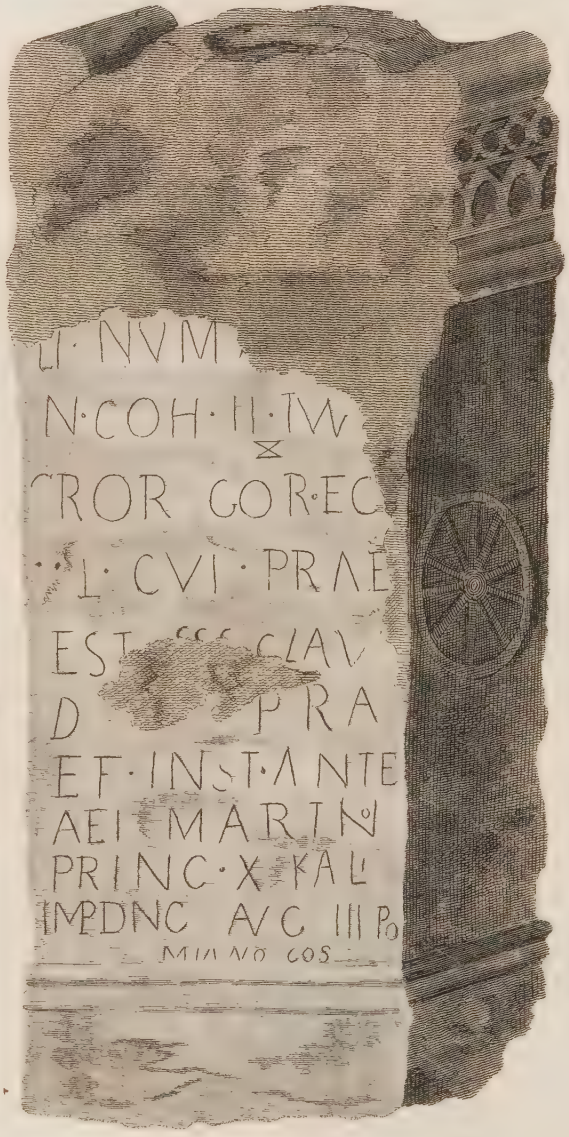
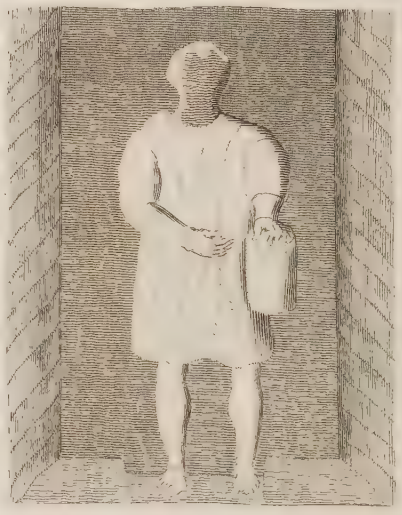
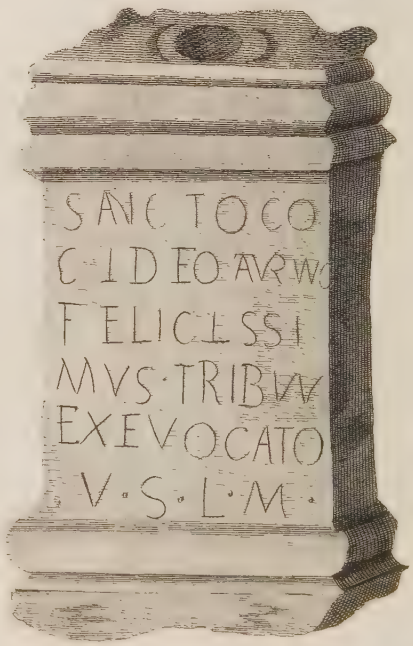


Roman Antiquities at Castlesteads in Cumberland.









Roman Antiquities at Castlesteeds &c in Cumberland.

intended to be engraved in one line, but, on account of ſome miſtake having been made, the latter part of it is eraſed, and continued in the line below. It is probable, that the altar was erected near ſome building, which by accident had been burnt down, as a quantity of ſcorched wheat was found lying beneath it, and as the ſtone itſelf bears evident marks of fire upon its ſurface. We have many altars in Gruter, and elſewhere, dedicated to the virtues of the Roman Emperors, as to their piety, to their chaſtity, to their conſtancy, &c. Cicero himſelf calls thoſe qualities *divas*, 'propter quas datur aſcenſus in cœlum;' but to deify their mere *inſtitutions* (for, the word DISCIPVLINÆ, I ſhould imagine, can only be a mis-ſpelling for DISCIPLINÆ) ſeems a curious ſtretch of flattery.

Fig. 12. A female figure of not inelegant workmanſhip.

Pl. V. fig. 13. Fragment of an altar to Jupiter.

Fig. 14. I can make no conjecture what this ſtone was intended for, or what the letters upon it mean: I think they may be read SVB DEO RVBEO.

Fig. 15. All that is legible upon this altar ſeems to be *Iovi Omnipotenti Maximo Et Genio* LOCI *Cohors* SEXTA . . . . The ſides are ornamented with a præfericulum and a patera.

Fig. 16. and fig. 17. appear to be fragments of ſepulchral inſcriptions.

Pl. VI. fig. 18. and fig. 19. rude relievos of images.

Fig. 20. Inſcription, *Centuria* RoMANI. This ſtone was found in the ruins of the great vallum, and probably, like many ſimilar ones given in Horſley, &c. had been originally fixed in the face of it, to denote what portion of the building each particular body of troops had compleated. It is a pity that the places where theſe ſtones were found, and their di-

ſtances from each other, have not been more preciſely aſcertained.

Fig. 21. This altar was found ſome years ago in the bank of a rivulet, which runs by the fort; and an engraving of it is given by Mr. Brand in his Hiſtory of Newcaſtle; but as it was covered with moſs and dirt at the time he inſpected it, he could not examine the inſcription ſo accurately as I have been enabled to do from the altar in my own poſſeſſion.

The ſymbols upon the ſides, a thunderbolt and wheel, ſufficiently declare that the altar was dedicated to Jupiter, although the letters I. O. M. which, no doubt, were once upon it, are broken off, together with the upper part of the ſtone. The original inſcription, therefore, I fancy might be read thus:

Iovi Optimo Maximo
ET NVMIN*ibus* AVG*uſti*
N*oſtri*, COH*ors* SECVNDA TVN-
GROR*um* GOR*diana Milliaria* EC*quitata*
FID*a*. CVI PRÆ-
EST . . . . . CLAV-
DIVS . . . . PRA-
EF*ectus*, INSTANTE
AEL*io* MARTINO
PRINC*ipe*, X K*alendarum Ianuarii*,
IMP*eratore Domino* N*oſtro* AVG*uſto* III. PO-
MPIANO, CO*nſulibu*S.

The mark ≥ (milliaria) ſeems to have been at firſt omitted by the workman, and added afterwards between the lines. The *Cohors Equitata Milliaria* (whoſe exiſtence, as part of the Roman army, appears to be not much known) is thus deſcribed

ſcribed by Hyginus [*c*]; "Habet Cohors Equitata Milliaria pedites ſeptingentos ſexaginta, centurias decem, equites ducentos quadraginta, turmas decem." And although the name of *milliary* cohort was originally confined to the firſt cohort of the legion, as conſiſting of a thouſand men, yet, in the latter times of the empire, according to Vegetius 'non tantùm unam cohortem ſed etiam alias milliarias legio fuit juſſa ſuſcipere."

In the laſt line but one of this inſcription, there is an evident miſtake of III for II, as we know, from the Faſti, that Pompeianus was the colleague of Gordian in his third conſulſhip.

It is remarkable, that though the *firſt* cohort of Tungri is ſpoken of by the Notitia, and to be traced in various inſcriptions found in the neighbourhood of the Roman wall, yet neither the Notitia, nor a ſingle ſtone (as far as I know) except this altar, make any mention of the *ſecond* cohort. That *it* ever was in Britain, appears only to be known from a few words of Tacitus: 'Agricola, (ſays he, in deſcribing the battle with Galgacus) tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum *duas* cohortatus eſt ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent,' &c. It is pleaſing to ſee a paſſage in a Roman hiſtorian and an inſcription dug up in Cumberland thus mutually throwing light upon each other.

Fig. 22. A ſoldier, with an arcula in his hand, perhaps a corn-baſket; a ſimilar figure is given in Horſley, N° XI. Scotland.

Fig. 23. This altar was found in the bed of a rivulet at Bewcaſtle, a village ſituated about ſix miles to the north of the wall of Severus. It was ſent to me a few months ago.

[*c*] De Caſtrametatione.

I read the inſcription thus :

SANCTO CO-
CIDEO, *Titus* AVRVNC*us*
FELICISSI-
MVS TRIBVN*us*
EX EVOCATO
Votum Solvit Lubens Meritò.

Tribunus ex evocato may perhaps ſignify, *promoted to the rank of Tribune from being an Evocatus*; but I ſhould rather think that *Tribunus* and *ex evocato* were unconnected with each other, and conſider the latter as ſynonymous with *qui fuerat evocatus* (who was formerly an *evocatus*) a mode of phraſeology, though perhaps not very common in the beſt Latin writers, yet by no means unfrequent in the later ones. Ammianus Marcellinus affords us numberleſs inſtances of it : thus lib. xxi, c. 6. 'Amphilotius quidam *ex Tribuno* Paphlagoniæ auſus, &c.' lib xxii, c. 3. 'Taurum *ex Præfecto Prætorio* in exilium egerunt.' In the Hiſt. Aug. Script. p. 145, we read, 'Senatus Maximum Pupienum *ex Præfecto* urbi qui plurimas dignitates præcipuè geſſiſſet, imperatorem creavit.' In the ſame manner we find in gloſſis Iſidori *ex conſule* for *conſul vetus*, *ex milite* for *miles vetus*.

The Evocati, as we may gather from various paſſages in the Roman hiſtorians, were ſoldiers, who after having completed their military ſervice, ſtill remained in the army as volunteers.

This is the third altar found in Cumberland dedicated to the local deity Cocideus.

Fig. 24 and 25 are impreſſions taken from two intaglios cut in cornelians; the former is drawn the ſame ſize as the original,

nal, the latter twice as large. Fig. 24 ſeems intended for a Mercury; he has the petaſus upon his head, and holds a purſe in his left hand; whether the artiſt meant to engrave a caduceus in his right, I cannot determine. He is deſtitute of the talaria: but we find Mercury as often repreſented without theſe two laſt ſymbols as with them (Montfauc. pl. LXVIII. LXIX.)

Fig. 25. Profiles of Jupiter, Caſtor, and Pollux. From the imperial diadems with which they are crowned, perhaps the engraver wiſhed to denote Severus and his two ſons Caracalla and Geta under the characters of theſe deities.

IX. *Obſervations on the Burning of the Steeple of St.* Paul's *Cathedral*, London. *By the Rev.* S. Denne, *In a Letter to Mr.* Gough.

Read May 17, 1792.

Dear Sir,

IN your Britiſh Topography, vol. I. p. 607, you have mentioned a tract relative to the burning of St. Paul's ſteeple, June 4, 1561, printed by Seres in 1563 [*a*]. By the title page it ſhould ſeem to be an addition to a former tract publiſhed by Seres; and in a volume of black-letter tracts, 12mo, which my friend Mr. Latham not long ſince picked up, there is, as I apprehend, the book alluded to. Imagining from your ſilence that you may not have ſeen it, and it being very ſhort, I have tranſmitted a copy of it. Mr. Herbert, the Continuator of Typographical Antiquities, to whom the tract has been ſhewn, had never met with it; but he is inclined to think that all the material circumſtances have been inſerted in our chronicles. Whether he is right in his conjecture, no perſon is more competent to determine than yourſelf. As far as I can recollect there are incidents of which I was not before apprized.

According to Stowe, in his Survey, the ſteeple was ſet on fire between three and four o'clock; but it appears, from a

[*a*] This book is mentioned by Mr. Herbert, p. 696.

relation

relation of the fire upon oath, entered in the Regiſtry of Biſhop Grindal (Newcourt, Repert. vol I. p.3.), that the accident befell the ſteeple between the hours of one and two. The fact moſt probably was, that the flaſh of lightning was between one and two, though, as obſerved in Seres' firſt tract, the ſmoke from the ſteeple was not perceived till ſome time after.

Notwithſtanding the confeſſion of the ſexton that this calamity was not occaſioned by lightning, I ſee no reaſon to doubt of that being the ſole cauſe of it, though circumſtances might, for an hour or two, retard the appearance of the fire. *Quære*, Does the damage done to the turret of the ſteeple of St. Martin's church occur in any hiſtory of London? It is in a brief Chronicle, printed by T. Marſh, 1561 [*b*]. The advice of the experienced in warres to ſhoot down with canons the ſteeple of St. Paul's, to prevent the ſpreading of the fire, would have reflected credit on an Engineer of the iſland of Laputa. The paſſage from Jeremiah printed in the title page was, it may be preſumed, the text to biſhop Pilkington's ſermon, the ſubſtance of which ſo ſpeedily iſſued from the preſs of Maſter Seres.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your faithful

And obliged ſervant,

Wilmington, March 8, 1792. S. DENNE.

[*b*] Herbert, p. 851.

The true Report
of the burnyng of the Steple
and Churche of Poules,
in London.

Jeremy, xviii.

I wyll ſpeake ſuddenlye agaynſt a nation, or agaynſte a kyngedome, to plucke it up; and to roote it out, and deſtroye it. But yf that nation, agaynſte whome I have pronounced, turne from their wickedneſs, I wyll repent of the plage that I thought to brynge uppon them.

Imprynted at London, at the
Weſt ende of Paules Church
at the Sygne of the Hedghogge,
by Wylliam
Seres.
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum
ſolum.
Anno 1561. The x of June.

The

The true reporte of the burning of the Steple and church of Paules, in London. Leaf A. ii.

On Wedneſday beinge the fourthe daye of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, and in the thyrde yeare of the reigne of our Soveraygne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. betweene one and two of the clocke at afternoone, was ſeene a marveilous great fyrie lightning, and immediately inſued a moſt terrible hydeous cracke of thunder, ſuch as ſeldom hath been heard, and that by eſtimacion of ſenſe, directlye over the citie of London. At which inſtance the corner of a turret of y^e^ ſteple of Saint Martin's churche within Ludgate was torne, and divers great ſtones caſten downe, and a hole broken throughe the roofe and timber of the ſaid church by the fall of the ſame ſtones.

For divers perſones in tyme of the ſaide tempeſt being on the river of Thamys, and others, beyng in the fieldes, nere adjoyning to ye citie, affirmed, that thei ſaw a long and a ſpeare pointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the broche or ſhaft of Paules ſteple from the eaſte weſtwarde. And ſome of the pariſh of St. Martin's then being in the ſtreate dyd feele a marveylous ſtrong ayre or whorlewynd, with a ſmel lyke brimſtone coming from Paules church, and withal heard the ruſh of y^e^ ſtones which fell frō their ſteeple into the churche. Betwene iiij and five of the (A. iij)
clocke a ſmoke was eſpied, by divers, to breake oute under the bowle of the ſaid ſhaft of Paules, and namely, by Peter Johnſon, principall Regiſtrer to the Biſhop of Londō, who immediately brought word to the Biſhop's houſe. But ſodeinly after, as it were in a momente, the flame brake forth

in a circle like a garlande rounde about the broche, about two yards to theſtimacion of ſight under the bowle of the ſaid ſhaft, and increaſed in ſuche wiſe, that within a quarter of an howre, or litle more, the croſſe and the egle on the toppe fell downe upon the South croſſe Ile. The Lord Maior being ſent for, and his brethren came with all ſpede poſſible, and had a ſhort conſultation, as in ſuch a caſe might be, with ye Biſhop of London, and others, for ye beſt way of remedy. And thither came alſo ye Lord Keper of the great ſeale, and the Lord Treaſorer, who by their wiſedom and authoritie dyrected as good order, as in ſo great a confuſiō could poſſibly be.

Some there wer, pretēding experience in warres, that coūceled the remanente of the ſteple to be ſhot down with canons, which counſel was not liked, as moſt perilous both for the diſperſing the fire, and deſtructiō of houſes and people; other perceiving the ſteple to be paſt all recovery, conſidering the hugeneſs of the fier, and the dropping of the leade, thought beſte to geat ladders and ſcale the churche, and with axes to hew down a ſpace of the roofe of the churche to ſtay the fier, at leaſt to ſave ſome part of the
(A. iiij) ſaide churche, which was concluded. But before the ladders and buckets could be brought, and things put in any order, and eſpecially becauſe the churche was of ſuch height, that thei could not ſcale it, and no ſufficiente number of axes could be had, ye laborers alſo being troubled with ye multitude of ydle gazers, the moſte parte of the higheſte roofe of the churche was on fier.

Fyrſt, the fall of the croſſe and egle fired the Southe croſſe Ile, which Ile was firſt conſumed, the beames and brands of the ſteeple fell downe on every ſide, and fired the other thre partes, that is to ſaye, the Chauncel or Quier, the North Ile, and the body of the churche, ſo that in one howres ſpace

y^e^

ye broch of the ſteple was brent downe to ye battlementes, and the moſt part of ye higheſt roofe of the churche likewiſe conſumed. The ſtate of the ſteple and churche ſeming both deſperate, my Lord Mayor was adviſed by one maiſter Winter, of ye admiraltie, to converte the moſt part of his care and proviſiō to preſerve the Biſhops palace adjoynyng to the North-weſt end of the church: leaſt frō that houſe beinge large, the fier might ſprede to the ſtretes adjoyning, whereupon the ladders, buckets, and laborers, were commanded thither, and by greate labor and diligence, a piece of the roofe of the Northe Ile was cut down, and the fier ſo ſtayed, and by muche water, that parte quenched, and the ſaid Biſhops houſe preſerved. It pleaſed God alſo at the ſame tyme bothe to turne and calme the winde, which afore was vehemēt, and continued ſtil high and greate in other partes without the citie. There wer above V. C. perſons y^t laboured in carying and filling water, and divers ſubſtancial citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, ſo did alſo divers and ſondrye gentlemen, whoſe names wer not knowen to the writer hereof, but amongſt other, the ſaid M. Winter, and one Mr. Stranguiſh did both take notable paines in their own perſons, and alſo much directed and encouraged other, and that not without great daūger to thēſelves. In ye evening came the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, from the court at Grenewiche, whē the Queenes majeſty, aſſone as the rage of the fier was eſpied by her majeſtye and others in the court, of the pitifull inclination and love that her gracious highneſſe dyd beare both to y^e ſaid church, and the citie, ſent to aſſyſt my Lorde Mayor for the ſuppreſſyng of the fyre, who with his wiſdome, authority, and diligent travayl, did very much good therin. About x of the clocke the fyercenes of the fyre was paſt, the tymbre being fallen, and lyinge brenninge

uppon

uppon the vaultes of ſtone, the vaultes yet (God be thanked) ſtandynge unperiſhed: ſo as onelye the tymbre of the hole church was conſumed, and the lead molten, ſavying the moſt part of the two lowe Iles of the Queare, and a piece of the North Ile, and an other ſmal piece of ye Southe, in the bodye of the churche. Notwithſtandyng all which, it pleaſed the merciful God in his wrath to remēbre his mercie, and to encloſe the harme of this moſt fyerce and terrible fyre wythin the walles of thys one church, not extending any part of his wrath in this fyre uppon the reſt of the citie, which to all reaſon and ſence of man was ſubject to utter diſtruction. For in the hole city without the churche no ſtycke was kyndled ſurelye, notwithſtanding that in diverſe partes and ſtretes, and within the houſes bothe adjoyning, and of a good diſtaunce, as in Fleteſtrete and Newgate market, by the violence of fyre, burninge coles of greate bigneſſe fell downe almooſt as thicke as haylſtones, and flawes of lead were blowen abrode into the gardins without y^t^ citie, like flawes of ſnowe in bredthe, w'oute hurt, God be thanked, to any houſe or perſō. Many fond talkes goe abrode of the original cauſe of this fier. Some ſay it was negligence of plumbers, whereas by due examination, it is proved that no plumbers or other workemen laboured in the churche for ſixe monethes before. Others ſuſpect it was done by ſome wicked practiſe of wildfyer or gunpowder, but no juſt ſuſpicions therof by any examinacion can be founde hitherto. Some ſuſpect conjurers and ſorcerers, wherof there is alſo no great likelyhode. And if it hadde bene wrought y^t^ waie, yet could not the devil have done it, without God's permiſſiō, and to ſome purpoſe of his unſercheable judgemēts, as appereth in the ſtory of Job. The true cauſe, as it ſemeth, was the tēpeſt by God's ſuffrance: for it cannot be otherwiſe gathered, but that at y^e^ ſaid great

and terrible thunderclap, when St. Martins ſteple was torne, the lightning, which by natural order ſmiteth yᵉ higheſt, did firſt ſmite yᵉ top of Paules ſteple, and entring in at the ſmall holes, which have always remained open for building ſkaffoldes to the workes, and finding the timbers very olde and drie, did kindle the ſame, and ſo the fier increaſing grew to a flame, and wrought yᵉ effecte which folowed, moſt terrible then to behold and now moſt lamentable to looke on.

On Sonday folowing, beynge the viii day of June, the reverend in God, the Biſhop of Dureſme, at Paules croſſe, made a learned and fruitful ſermon, exhorting the auditory to a general repentance, and namely to humble obediēce of the lawes and ſuperior powers, which vertue is much decayed in theſe our daies. Seming to have intellygēce from the Queenes highnes, that her Majeſtie intendeth that more ſeveritie of lawes ſhall be executed againſt perſons diſobedyent, as well in cauſes of religion as civil, to the great rejoyſing of his auditours. He exhorted alſo hys audiēce to take this as a generall warninge to the whole realme, and namelye to the citie of London, of ſome greater plage to folow, if amendmente of lyfe in all ſtates did not enſue: He muche reproved thoſe perſons whiche woulde aſſigne the cauſe of this wrathe of God to any perticular ſtate of mē, or that were diligent to loke into other mens lyves, and could ſee no faultes in themſelfes; but wiſhed that every man wold deſcend into himſelfe, and ſay with David, *Ego ſum qui peccavi.* I am he that hathe ſinned, and ſo furth, to that effect very godlye. He alſo not onely reproved the prophanatyon of the ſaid churche of Paules, of long time heretofore abuſed by walking, jangling, brawling, fighting, bargaining, &c. namely, in ſermons and ſervice time: but alſo aūſwered by the way to the objections of ſuch evil-tunged perſōs, which do impute this token

of

of God's deſerved ire, to alteratiō or rather reformatiō of religiō, declaring out of aūcient records and hiſtories, ye like, yea and greater matters, had befallen in the time of ſuperſtiō and ignorance. For in the firſt year of King Stephē, not only the ſaid churche of Paules was brent, but alſo a great part of the city, that is to ſay frō Londō Bridge unto St. Clemēts without Tēple bar, was by fier cōſumed. And in ye daies of King Hēry ye VI. ye Steple of Paules was alſo fired by lightning, although it was then ſtaide by diligēce of ye citizens, ye fier being thē by likelyhode not ſo fierce. Many other ſuche like cōmon calamities he reherſed, whiche had happened in other coūtreis, both nigh to this realm, and far of, where the church of Rome hath moſt authority, and therefore concluded the ſureſt way to be, y^t^ every man ſhould judge, examin, and amēd himſelfe, and embrace, beleve, and truely folow ye word of God, and earneſtly to pray to God to turn away frō us his deſerved wrath and indignation, whereof this his terrible work is a moſt certein warning, if we repent not unfeinedly. The whiche God grāt maye come to paſſe in all eſtates and degrees, to ye glory of his name, and to our endeleſſe comforte, in Chriſt our Saviour. Amen.

God Save the Queene.

X. *Re-*

X. *Remarks on an Italian muſical Inſtrument. In a Letter to General* Melville. *From* John Moir, *Eſq.*

Read June 21, 1792.

Dear General,

IN 1789, paſſing through a town iu Lombardy, I accidentally heard a piper, ſurrounded by a crowd, execute an air ſo affecting, that I got out of my chaiſe to hear him; but judge my ſurpriſe when I found, that the inſtrument he was playing on was perfectly ſimilar to the fiſtula the Satyrs and Fauns are pictured with. The piper had a little baſket of the ſame ſort of inſtruments to ſell, one of which I bought [*a*], and on enquiry I found that it is common with the peaſantry in that country; I doubt, therefore, whether it will have that merit of novelty with you that it had with me; but if it ſhould happen that you have not ſeen one of the kind before, I may congratulate myſelf from the light your fine taſte and erudition have conſtantly thrown on every thing relative to the antients, that I have put it in the beſt poſſible train of inveſtigation. On my arrival at Milan, I mentioned the circumſtance to a gentleman, who procured me the hearing a concert on it, accompanied by a violin and guittar, that quite enchanted me. The execution appears complete and eaſy, particularly what in other inſtruments is ſo difficult, the running up and down the gamut, which is done by a hori-

[*a*] See it engraved, plate VI.

zontal motion of the hands drawing the even part of the fiſtula acroſs the lips, and gently blowing into the pipes or reeds, each of which is a full or half note, and a little practice, to a good ear, ſoon gives the ſhiftings to form the tune. I muſt remark, that the one I had heard at Milan had many more pipes, and of courſe greater compaſs.

I am, dear General,

Your obliged humble Servant,

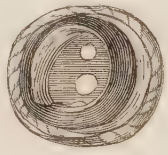
Great Portland-ſtreet,
June 16, 1792.

JOHN MOIR.

Fig 1.

Fig 23.

Fig 22.



A loose piece of the middle of N.º 22.

Cups found in Cornwall.

XI. *Farther Accounts of Antiquities diſcovered in* Cornwall, 1774. *By* Philip Raſhleigh, *Eſq. F. R. and A. SS. In a Letter to Mr.* Gough.

Read November 8, 1792.

NOT finding any perſon that has attempted to explain the uſe of ſeveral antiquities diſcovered in Cornwall in 1774, which were exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1788, and engraved in pl. viii. [*a*] of vol. IX. p. 187 : I have lately borrowed them, and trouble you, Sir, with ſome obſervations on the plate.

No 1. 22, and 23, were parts of a ſilver cup, reſembling one uſed in a neighbouring pariſh at the Communion, as repreſented in the ſketch ſent herewith [*b*]. Round the outſide of the cup, near the edge, are remains of pins, or rivets, for the purpoſe of fixing a rim or ornamental border ; and from the holes in No. 6 and 7, I thought they might have ſuited together, but on comparing them, they differ widely ; and not being equal all round, they could not be applied as a hoop. No. 6. is eight $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and No. 7, is 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, including the two ſmall ends which are wanting in No. 6. The holes in theſe pieces ſhew they had been fixed to ſome ſolid body ; which, with their different lengths, now convince me, on a fuller inſpection, that they could not have been uſed for bracelets.

[*a*] Miſ-numbered IX.
[*b*] Plate VII.

No. 16 is the top of No. 9, which has only a carved front, with a little croſs behind, thus +. The figures repreſented in 6, 7, 8, and 9, with 16, have only been ornamented for a front view.

The looſe piece in the middle of No. 22, ſeems of no uſe to that part of the cup, or to be any way connected with it, except by the three holes which exactly coincide. This piece very much reſembled the ſilver top of a horſe-whip. Fig. 8 is a ſilver ſpring. What fig. 10 is I know not, but certainly not a ſpring.

There are two pieces of No 15, and of No. 19; and Nos. 18, and 20, are both alike.

I think the mint-maſter's name of Burgred's penny is not accurate; the letters are very plain, and appear as BENNTHEL [*c*].

If theſe obſervations are of any uſe to explain parts of the plate, I ſubmit them to your inſpection; and if at any time I can render them more clear by better aſſiſtance than I have near me, I ſhall be obliged to you for putting me in the way. I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient

humble ſervant,

Menabilly,
Sept. 4, 1792. PHIL. RASHLEIGH.

[*c*] It ſeems to be the ſame with No. 27. in the plate of Saxon coins in the new edition of Camden's Britannia.

XII. *An illuminated Letter of Filiation among the Grey Friers. Communicated by* Craven Ord, *Esq. F. R. and A. SS. In a Letter to the President.*

Read Dec. 6, 1792.

My Lord,

I Beg leave to lay before the Society a curious illuminated letter of filiation from Thomas, brother of the Grey Friers, or Friers Minors, in England, to John Marshall, and Isabel his wife. It bears date 1 Edw. IV. The following is a copy of the original now exhibited :

'Venerabilibus in Christo Johanni Marchal et Isabelle consorti sue frater Thos. Fratrū Minōr' in Anglia minister et servus, Salutē et per presentis vite merita gaudia percipere sempiterna. Devocionē quā ob dei reverenciam ad ordinem nostrum habetis sincere caritatis affectu considerans, cupiensque vobis vices repēdere salutares, vos ad universa et singula frm̄ administracionis Anglicane suffragia tenore presencium recipio in vita pariter et in morte plenā vobis participacionem omnium missarum, orationum, predicacionum, vigiliarum, ceterorumque omnium bonōr spiritualium quantū Deo placuerit concedendo, que per eosdem fratres mee cure commissos operari dignabit clementia salvatoris. Adiciens insuper de gracia speciali ut cum obitus vestri una cum representacione presencium in nostro provinciali capitulo fuerint nunciati, pro vobis fiat per totam ad-

adminiſtracionem Anglie quod pro noſtris fratribus et amicis ac benefactoribus ordinis noſtris defunctis recommendatis ibidem fieri conſuevit. Valete in Domino Ieſu Chriſto Matreque ejus virgine glorioſa. Dat. London, xvii die menſis Octobris, anno Domini 1462.'

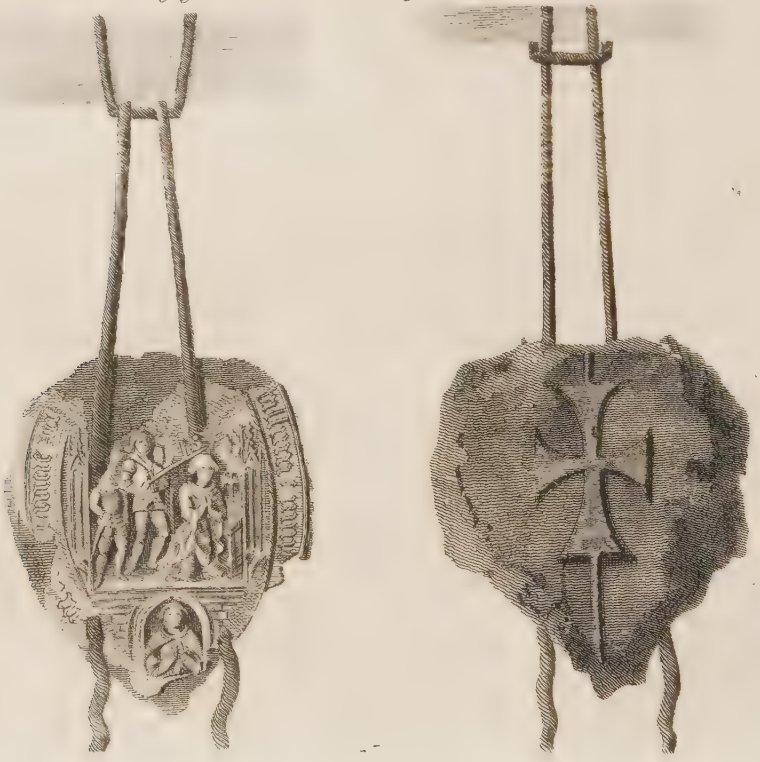
The Grey Friers were firſt ſettled near Newgate, in London, about 1240.

In Stevens's Continuation of Dugdale's Monaſticon, vol. II. p. 93, is the tranſlation of a ſimilar letter, which is there called 'A venerable Monument of Antiquity in the ancient 'family of the Comptons, from which the Earls of North-'ampton are deſcended.'

'To our moſt-beloved in Chriſt, Thomas Compton, and Joanna his wife, brother Thomas, vicar in England to the Miniſter-General, greeting, and that through the merits of this preſent life they may attain eternal joy. Reflecting on, and accepting of the devotion you, in reverence to God, bear to our order, with the affection of tender charity; and being deſirous to make you a return to ſalvation, I do, by theſe preſents, admit you both in life and death, to all and ſingular the ſuffrages of the brothers of the Engliſh adminiſtration, granting you full participation of the ſpiritual advantages which the goodneſs of our Saviour ſhall vouchſafe to be performed by the ſame brothers committed to my charge, as far as it ſhall pleaſe God. Adding moreover, as a ſpecial favour, that whenſoever your deaths, together with an account of theſe preſents, ſhall be notify'd in our Provincial Chapter, the ſame ſhall be performed for you throughout all the adminiſtration of England, that is wont to be there done for the brothers of our order, and for the recommended friends and benefactors of our order deceaſed.

'Fare-

Seal appendant to an antient
Letter of filiation among the Grey friars.



'Farewell, happily in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his Mother, the glorious Virgin, Given in our Provincial Chapter, held at Coventry, on the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the glorious Virgin, in the year 1420.'

In Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, vol. II. p. 565, Margaret Eſt, ſiſter of the convent of Friers Minors, orders her letter of *pardon and privilege* to partake of their indulgences, to be carried home to the convent as ſoon as ſhe was buried.

The obverſe of the ſeal appendant to the letter now exhibited is of the fineſt red wax. On it is repreſented the murder of Thomas Becket, with an imperfect inſcription, which may be thus made out: 'Sigillum Minorum Fratrum Provincie Anglie.' The reverſe is of very fine green wax, with a croſs impreſſed on it*.

I am, my Lord, with great reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt faithful and obedient ſervant,

Bloomſbury-Square,
Dec. 5, 1792.

CRAVEN ORD.

* See plate VII. *

XIII. *Ex-*

XIII. *Extract from the Wardrobe Account of Prince* Henry, *eldeſt Son of King* James I. *Communicated by* William Bray, *Eſq. F. A. S. In a Letter to Mr.* Wrighte, *Secretary.*

Read Jan. 17, 1793.

Sir,

HOWEVER little adapted to the views of the Society a tailor's bill may at firſt appear, perhaps on a ſecond conſideration, it may not be thought quite improper for their notice.

Should any one find the houſe of Pliny at Pompeii, and in it a bundle of tradeſmen's bills, and amongſt them a tailor's, would it not be conſidered as a matter of curioſity to ſee how tailors in thoſe days made out their bills, and what ſupplied the place of buckram, canvas, tape, and thread, ſo often introduced in ours?

The Northumberland Houſehold-Book has preſerved many curious particulars. We have had exact accounts of the number of oxen, and thence down to the chicken, which have been ſerved up at great entertainments by our anceſtors. The Form of Curie has reſcued from oblivion many ſauces, which, if we do not admire enough to eat in preference to the modern ones of Burgeſs, at leaſt give us ſome idea of the taſte

taſte of our anceſtors, and the ſtrength of their ſtomachs; but I do not recollect that any one has given us a tailor's bill for any of our Edwards or Henrys, or their courtiers.

Will it then be quite improper to produce a bill of this ſort for one year's cloaths for prince Henry, ſon of James the Firſt?

To thoſe who have paid the bills of a Regnier, or a Bazalgette, the amount of £4574. 14ſ. 0½ for one year's cloaths, (for ſuch it ſeems to be, though there are not dates to the ſeveral articles) near 200 years ago, may not ſeem altogether ſurpriſing, conſidering the perſon for whom they were made; and yet, unleſs ſuch a bill as this was preſerved, the bills of thoſe modern adorners of the perſon might excite the admiration of future antiquaries, if any of them ſhould by accident be found at the bottom of a cheſt, or in a corner of a ſteward's room, eſpecially if there ſhould be receipts at the foot.

To our modern fox-hunters it may appear a novelty that a hunting coat ſhould be lined with velvet.

This bill, however, may ſerve to ſhew the various particulars of dreſs at the beginning of the laſt century, the places whence ſome of the then faſhionable finery were brought, the manner in which different parts of the dreſs were then ornamented; and may it not furniſh to the lovers of black-letter books explanations of alluſions or hints in their favourite authors, at preſent little underſtood?

By a warrant for the Princes grace dated at his Majeſty's honour of Hampton Court, the 28th of September, in the 5th year of the raigne of our Sovereign Lord James, by the Grace of God, king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fortieth, 1607.

For the fifth of the king, 7th October, 1608.

To Alexander Wilſon, tailor, for making a doublett and hoſe of greene ſatten cut and raſed, cut out upon taffata, lined with taffata, the facing and pockets of taffata, layed with ſilke lace, ſilke, ſtiching, and ſewinge ſatten to the collar, and ſmall furniſhing, as Holland clothe, baies, canvas, rugg, bumbaſt, fuſtian, and haire, price the makinge — — — l

To Robert Grigg for eight yards of greene ſatten for the ſaid ſute, at 17s. the yard — — — vjl. xvjs.

To Alexander Wilſon for cutting and raſing the ſame — — — xls.

To Robert Grigge for thirteen yards and half of taffata to lace under the cuffs, and to line them, at 15s. — — — xl. ijs. vjd.

To him, for half a yard of ſatten for the collar, at 17s. — — — viijs. vjd.

To Alexander Wilſon for two ells and half of Holland for the ſame ſute, at 10s. — — xxvs.

To him for five yards of baies at 4s. — — xxs.

To

To him for two ells of canvas at 3s. 4d. vjs. viijd.
To him for two yards of rugg at xxd. iijs. iiijd.
To him for 1lb and half of bumbaſt, at 18d. — — ijs. iijd.
three yards fuſtian, at 18d. — iiijs. vjd.
two lb. haire, at 18d. — iijs.

To him for making a cloake of green velvet, uncut, laid with greene ſilk lace, lined with green ſatten, printed and raſed in manner of embrod. and alſo an ell high with flowers, ſilke, ſtiching, and ſewing rebens and buckerame, price the making xxxs.

To Robert Grigge, for eight yards of greene uncut velvet for the ſame cloake, at 29s. — — xjl. xijs.

To him for eight yards of greene ſatten to line the ſame cloke, at 17s. the yard xjl. xvjs.

To Alexander Wilſon for pinking and raſing the ſame — —

To him for two yards of buckram, at 20d. iijs. iiijd.

Making a doublett and hoſe of white ſatten, ſtriped with ſilver, cut out with carnation taffata, lined next the ſhirt with carnation taffata, with white taffata to laie under the cuffs, ſatten to the collar, laied with ſilver paſſamine lace, ſilver buttons, ſilver loop lace, ſilk, ſtitching, and ſewing, and ſmall furniſhings, as above, — xxs.

The ſatten, three yards at 70s. xl. xs.
Alexander Wilſon cutting the ſame xs.
The taffata, four yards, at 16s. — lxiiijs.

Making a doublet and hoſe of narrow, changeable, watred ſilk grograine garled, laid with carnation watchet ſilke galowne lace, cutt out with carnation taffata laid under the cutts with white taffata, with carnation taffata next the ſhirte, facings and pockets, ſatten to the collar, ſilk, ſtitching, and ſewing, ſilk buttons, rebens, and ſmall furniture as before — v l.

The grograine ten yards and half at 20s. x l. xs.

Cutting the ſame — — xiijs.

Making a white graie cloth cloake, laide about with aſhe color ſilke, and ſilver broad lace, lined with aſhe color velvet, laid down the breſts with aſhe-color ſilke, and ſilver buttons, &c. making —— xxxs.

The clothe two yards and halfe at 30s. lxxvs.

The velvet eight yards, 28s. 6d. xj l. viijs.

Making a ſide hunting coate of green chamblett, wrought all thicke with green ſilke galowne in 2, together with a whood of the ſame chamblett, and laid all thick with the ſame lace, the bodies, and ſleeves, and whood, lined with greene velvet, the ſide ſkirts lined with green taffata, ſilke buttons, loope lace, ſilke, ſtichinge, and ſewings, and buckeram, price the making v l.

Twelve yards green chamblett, at 10s. vj l.

Four yards green velvet, at 26s. v l. iiijs.

Three yards green taffata at 15s. lxs.

A jerkin of black frizade, lined with ſhag

Sixteen

Sixteen gold buckles with pendants and toungs to buckle a pair of goloſſes with gold — ls.

One pair of gloves lined through with velvett, and laid with three gold laces, and gold fringe, curled —— — lxs.

Two pair of cordevant gloves, perfumed and laid with broad ſilver lace, and fringe curled, at 32s. — — — lxiiijs.

Four pair of ſtaggs leather gloves perfumed and fringed with gold and ſilver fringe, at 16s. — — — lxiiijs.

Six pair of plain gloves with coloured tops, being very well perfumed, at 6s. — 36s.

Six pair plain gloves with colored tops, and ſome white tops, at 3s

Twelve pair fine gloves ſtiched, the fingers and the tops white ſilk and ſilver, and ſome trymmed with taffata and reben, at 11s.

Silk hoaſe 55s. a pair.

Silk garters at 12s.

A little box with cheſs men, 6s.

Fine bone laces made of ſitten thred, at 10s. a yard.

Other bone lace, at 3s. 4d.

Long Spaniſh reben, points tagged, at 48s. a groſſe,

Large ſilk and ſilver buttons and loops, with diverſe hanging buttons at the ends, at 53s, 4d. the dozen.

Naples ſilk garters, 8s. the pair.

Two pair of rich ſilk and ſilver double raines, with buttons and caules of ſilver, at 8l. a pair.

Silver and ſilk fringe and lace, 5s. an oz.

Embroidering an hatband with ſeveral ſorts of pearle, having ſet among the pearle rubies, emrods, and opals; having alſo three ſcore great pearls, 26l.

Pearl and workmanſhip of a plume of feathers, 40s.

Embroidering two muffs, viz. one of cloth of ſilver, embroidered with purles, plates, and Venice twiſts of ſilver and gold, the other of black ſatten embroidered with black ſilk and bugles, viz. for one 7l. the other 60s.

Holland for ſhirts, 13s. 4d. an ell.

Night cloths, 11s.

Sheets, 9s.

Embroidering a jerkin and a pair of panes of perfumed leather, wrought about with gold, ſilver, and coloured ſilk, 45l.

A caſe for a watch, embroidered with pearl, 20s.

Fine camerick, at 21s. an ell.

Ditto, at 13s.

Fine lawn, a piece, 13l. 12s.

Broad Damaſk for tabling, 10s. a yard.

Narrow ditto for napkins, 3s. 4d.

French uncut velvet at 28s. a yard.

French

French green ſattin, at 17s.

White millen fuſtian for blankets, 4s.

Beavers of divers colours, lined with ſattin or taffata, 60s. apiece.

Plumes of feathers, 40s.

A band embroidered with pearle, 4l.

Ditto gold, 30s.

Silk bands, 6s.

Black embroidered bands, 6s. 8d.

New dying and lining three beavers with taffata or ſatten, at 5s.

One hundred and fifty-ſeven pair of ſhoes at 3s. 6d.

One ditto laced, 3s. 6d.

One pair of goloſſians, 6s.

Thirty-four pair of bootes, faced, with thirteen yards ſatten, of colours, and three yards velvet, of colours, at 12s.

Faceing the boots 18d. a pair.

Pair of ſpurs guilt and hatched with ſilver, and cut rowells, 22s.

Twelve launce heads hatched and gilt, at 10s.

Making ſhirts at 5s.

Fine ſmall thred, 4s. an ounce.

A ſword and dagger, damaſkind with gold, and cut in iron, 6l.

A rapier hatched, ſilvered, and chaſed, with velvet ſcaberd, and ſilver handle, 60s.

Two

Two waiſtcoats of fine camericke, wrought verie curiouſly in color ſilke, lined with taffata ſarſenet, bound with ſilver lace, 50l.

Broad fine bone lace made of ſitten thred, at 20s.

Broad cloth, 15s. a yard.

Total 4574l. 14s. ob.

Great Wardrobe.

XIV. *Copy*

XIV. *Copy of a Survey made of what remained in the Armoury of the Tower of* London, *in conſequence of a Commiſſion iſſued Auguſt* 2, 1660, 12 Charles II. *Communicated by* William Bray, *Eſq. F. R. A. SS.*

Read Dec. 13, 1792.

ON the Reſtoration of king Charles the Second, William Legg, Eſq. was reſtored to the office of Maſter of the Armories, in the Tower of London, Greenwich, and elſewhere, from which he had been outed in the late diſtractions. Previous to his entering on the ſaid office, he requeſted a ſurvey to be made of what remained in the armoury; and thereupon a commiſſion, dated Auguſt 2d, in the twelfth year of his Majeſty's reign, 1660, was directed to Sir John Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Colonel William Aſheburnham, Sir Thomas Armeſtronge, knight, John Wood, and Bartholomew Beale, Auditors of the Impreſts, to take the remaynes of all the armes, tooles, and other utenſills, in the Tower of London, and magazines and ſtorehouſes at Greenwich.

The ſurvey was accordingly made in the month of October 1660.

It would be tedious to mention the particular numbers of each kind, but it may be of ſome curioſity to ſhew of what ſorts the armour conſiſted, and what ancient armour had been left untouched in the time of confuſion.

The ſorts of armour enumerated in this ſurvey, an atteſted copy of which is in poſſeſſion of Mrs. Tucker, of Betchworth caſtle, in Surrey, are as follows:

Breaſts.
Backes.
Harquebuzeers and other horſmen's armours, viz.
Head peeces.
Strong harquebuzee armor, conſiſting of backe breſt placket.
Head peeces and taces.
Dutch horſemens' head peeces with ſingle barrs.
Curaſeers armours, with their furniture, viz.
Cloſe white Curaſſeer head peeces.
Cuſhes.
Knee capps.
Flemiſh pouldrons with vambraces [*a*].
Light horſmen's armes wanting two pair of taces [*b*].
White Curaſſeer armes complete for tilting [*c*].
Tilting armor for curaſſeers, conſiſting of backe, breaſt, pouldrons, vambraces, taces, and collar.
Large white armor complete, ſaid to be John of Gaunt's [*d*].
Small white armor cap a pe, ſaid to be prince Henry's.

[*a*] To guard the ſhoulder and arm. Groſe, p. 22.
[*b*] Or taſſets to cover the thighs. Ibid.
[*c*] The cuiraſs covered the body before and behind. Groſe, p. 19.
[*d*] The helmet is engraved in Groſe's ancient armour, pl. 8.

Daniſh foot armes, viz. breaſts, backes, taces.
Daniſh breaſts, with croſs girdles.
Armour of Toyras proviſion, breaſts, backes, head peeces, whereof ſome were made in England to wear with the ſaid armes.
Corſhetts and curates, with their furniture, viz. curate breaſts, backes, head peeces, taces, coome murrions, and other old head peeces and capps, gorgets, murrions, white field head peeces.

Maſking armor complete, reported to be made for king Henry the Seventh.

Foot armes, black and plaine, black and guilt.
Pace guards, ruſſet, white [*e*].
Grand guards, ruſſet white [*f*].
Vambraces, plaine, guilt.
Old grave.
Culet or Guardreine [*g*].
Mainefaires, ruſſet, white [*b*].
Vamplets for tilting ſtaves.
White ſhort gauntletts.
White tilt collers.
Flemiſh gauntletts, ſhort, long.
Amunicion ſwords.

[*e*] In tilting armour, on each ſhoulder was fixed a plate, declining from the face like wings, intended to protect the eyes from the point of the lance. Groſe, page 24.

[*f*] In tilting armour, the ſhoulder and breaſt were covered by a plate called a grand guard, which faſtened on at the ſtomach. Ibid, p. 24.

[*g*] A piece of armour hooked on to the back of the cuiraſs for protection of the reins. Ibid, p. 21.

[*b*] To guard the neck of the horſe from the ſtroke of a cutting ſword. Ib. p. 30.

Belts for ſwords.
Saddles for great horſes.
Battle axes.
Wood croſſes to hang armor upon.

Sundry other armes and parcels of armor, ammunicion, &c.
(viz.)

Shaffroones [*i*].
Launces, and launce ſtaves.
Great launces, whereof two are ſaid to be king Henry the Seventh's and one Charles Brandon's duke of Suffolke.
Pikes.
Great hearſe of John of Gaunt.
Spaniſh coller for torture taken in 1588.
Two hand ſwords.
Shields guilt.
Targets of iron.
Buckelers of iron.
Wooden buckelers.
Barbes for beſtes wanting one ſhaffroon.
Anticke head piece, with rainſhornes coller and ſpectacles upon it, one tacke, and one ſword, all ſaid to be William Sommers' armes.

Armorers Tooles.

Small Bickernes.
Tramping Stakes.

[*i*] Or chanfrons, or champfrein, to protect the horſe's face.

Round

Round ſtake.
Welting ſtakes.
Straite ſheeres.
Fileing tonges.
Hamers.
Old tew iron.
Great ſquare anvill.
Bellows.
Smiths vices.
Threſtles.

In the Cloſet within the Armory at the Tower.

Armor of king Henry the Eighth, cap a pe, being rough from the hammer [*k*].
Long elbow gauntletts.
Strong breſts and plackets.
Male jackets.
Powder, half a barrell.

Sundry compleat Armor, and others, whereof ſome of them were formerly ſtanding at Greenwich, in the green gallerie there, viz.

Upon a horſe ſtatue of wood, one compleat tilt armor, cap a pe richly guilt, part engraven, part damaſked, made for prince Henry, with two gauntletts, and one guilt grand guard, the horſe furniture being one ſhaffroone of the ſame ſort, one old leather ſadle and bitt.

[*k*] The helmet engraved by Groſe, plate VIII. the reſt plate XIX.

Upon

Upon a like horſe, one armour cap a pe, white and guilt, made for king Henry the Eighth, the horſe furniture being one ſhaffroone breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame ſort, one old ſaddle and bitt.

Upon a like horſe, one armor cap a pe damaſked and guilt, made for king Henry the Seventh; the horſe furniture being a ſhaffroon crivet for the necke, breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame, ſaddle, ſtirrups and bitt.

Upon a like horſe one armor cap a pe white, engraven, and parcell guilt, made for king Edward the Third. The horſe furniture being one ſhaffroone crivet for the necke, breſt plate and buttocke of the ſame, an old ſadle and bitt.

Upon a like horſe one curaſſeere armor richly guilt and engraven, made for his late majeſty of ever bleſſed memory Charles the Firſt. The horſe furniture being one ſhaffroona of the ſame, and an old ſadle.

Upon a like horſe, one white armor cap a pe, made for king Edward the Fourth. The horſe furniture are ſhaffroone, crivet for the necke, breſt plate, buttocke, and one old ſadle, with two gauntlets, and a pace guard.

Upon a like horſe, one armor made for king Henry the Sixth, conſiſting of an head piece, backe, breſt, a pair of pouldrons and vambraces, a pair of greaves and a pace guard. The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, and an old ſadle and a bitt.

Upon a like horſe, one armor compleat, cap a pe engraven with the ragged ſtaffe, made for the earle of Leiceſter. The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, crivet for the necke, and breſt plate of the ſame, one ſadle, bitt, and reines.

Upon a like horſe, one armor compleate, cap a pe white and plaine, made for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke.

The

The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, breſt plate, and buttocke of the ſame, one ſadle, bitt, and bridle.

Upon a like horſe, one armor compleat, cap a pe white and plaine, made for William the Conqueror. The horſe furniture being a ſhaffroone, crivet for the necke, with a ſadle, bridle, and ſtirrups.

In ſeveral trunckes brought from Mr. Anneſley's houſe in the Tower were ſeveral armours richly guilt and graven, made for king Charles the Firſt, Charles the Second when prince; ſome with boſſes of gold, and corded with ſilver.

Foot armor of Henry the Eighth, richly guilt, conſiſting of backe, breſt, and placket [*l*], taces, gorget, a burgonet, with a buffe or chin peece.

Sheeves of male, with a velvet coat to them.

Armor ſent his now majeſtie Charles the Second, by the Great Mogull, conſiſting of backe, breſt, baces, head peece, vizard, and peeces of the greaves.

Greenwich.

They found, upon view and information of divers officers of the armory, ſhopkeepers, and others, that during the time of the late diſtractions, the ſeveral armes, amunition, and habiliments of war, formerly remaining in the Greene Gallery at Greenwich, were all taken and carried away by ſundry ſoldiers who left the door open; that ſundry of the ſaid armes were afterwards brought to the Tower of London, by Mr. Anneſley, where they were then remaining; that the wainſcot in the ſaid gallery was then all pulled down and carried away, and, as they were informed, was imployed in wainſcotting the houſe in the Tower where the ſaid Mr. An-

[*l*] An additional plate to ſtrengthen the breaſt piece. Groſe, p. 21.

neſley

neſley lived ; that a great part of the ſeeling was very much ruined, and the whole houſe much decaied ; that all the ſeveral tooles, and other utenſills for making of armour, formerly remaining in the Maſter Armourer's work-houſe there, and at the armourer's mill, were alſo at the time of the ſaid diſtractions taken and carried away, except ſome few things; that ſundry of the tooles and other things had been ſold to private perſons ; that the great anvill, called the great beare, was then in the cuſtody of Mr. Michaell Baſten, lockſmith, at Whitehall ; and the anvill, called the little beare, was in the cuſtody of Mr. Thomas Cove, one of his majeſty's armourers ; the mill, formerly employed in glazeing and cleaning armes, was deſtroyed and converted to other uſes by one Woodman, who claimed it by a grant from king James, of bleſſed memory, but the officers of the armoury then had it in their poſſeſſion.

This report is ſigned by

J. ROBINSON, Li. Gen. Toure.

JOHN WOOD,

BARTH. BEALE.

Brass vessels found in Scotland.

XV. *Account of a Braſs Veſſel found near* Dumfries *in* Scotland, 1790. *By* Robert Riddell, *Eſq.* F. A. S.

Read Jan. 31, 1793.

THE antiquities here delineated [*a*] were found in a moſs about a mile from Friers Carſe, in ſummer 1790, by the workmen forming the turnpike road from Dumfries to Sanquhar. They conſiſted of two veſſels very like modern ſaucepans, and the one was within the other, and fitted it moſt exactly. They are braſs, tinned in the inſide, and very neatly made. The one now entire, will hold near a quart, and the bottom is raiſed in circular ornaments exactly like the bottom of the broken one, which is delineated here. The outer one was broken through the ſtupidity of thoſe who found them, but the inner one is intire ; on its handle is in Roman capitals what I imagine to be the maker's name.

It does not appear that theſe veſſels were ever put on the fire, for the bottom of each is neatly formed with raiſed rings, highly poliſhed, and not in the leaſt defaced by the action of fire. Captain Groſe, who was with me when they were found, ſaid he ſaw a ſimilar one found in the fens of Lincolnſhire.

[*a*] See plate VIII.

XVI. *Notices of Fonts in* Scotland. *By* Robert Riddell, *Eſq.* F. A. S. *In a Letter to Mr.* Gough.

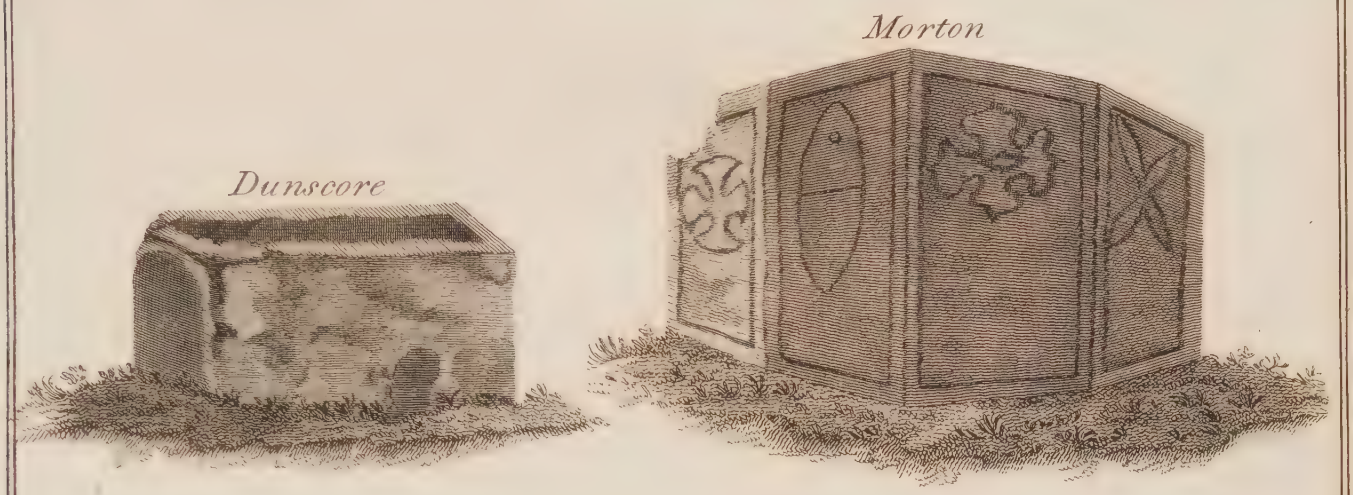
Read Jan. 31, 1793.

My Dear Sir,

ALLOW me, in return for the great pleaſure your excellent account of Engliſh fonts in the tenth volume of the Archæologia afforded me, to preſent you with drawings of ſome Scottiſh fonts, in my ſmall collection of antiquities at Friers Carſe. If you think them worthy the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, they are at your diſpoſal as you ſee proper. At the time of the Reformation in Scotland the mob demoliſhed their ſacred baſons, by breaking and mutilating them, with a barbarous and bigoted zeal, ſo that few of them now are to be met with, and thoſe much defaced. I have collected ſpecimens of all the varieties I have ſeen; octangular, circular, ſquare, oblong, and four-ſided ones [*a*]. The firſt is *Morton* font. I found it buried in a heap of rubbiſh in a neglected corner of the churchyard. It is an octagon of red free-ſtone, with different croſſes neatly carved upon each ſide, and has a hole in the bottom of an inch diameter. The ſecond I found in the church-yard of *Dalgaron*; it is an octagon of white free-ſtone, with a hole in the

[*a*] See plate IX.

bottom,



Fonts in Scotland.

bottom, but no carving upon it. The third was at the old church of *Dunſcore*; it is of red free-ſtone, much broken, and has no hole in the bottom; on it are the arms of Kilpatrick, of Cloeſburn.

The fourth I found in the church-yard at *Mouſwald*; it is circular, of red free-ſtone, and has no hole in the bottom; on it are the arms of Tortherwald of Tortherwald, a very conſiderable family, which ended in an heireſs in the time of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland: the ſhield is mantled with an angel's head and wings, much broken and defaced.

The fifth came from *Duncore* church; it ſeems to have been fixed in a niche in the wall, and an aperture in the back carried off the water; the figure an oblong ſquare.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours ſincerely,

Friers Carſe,
Dec. 31, 1792.

R. RIDDELL.

XVII. *Evidence of a Lavatory, appertaining to the* Benedictine *Priory of* Canterbury *Cathedral; and Obſervations on Fonts. By the Rev.* Samuel Denne, *F. S. A. In a Letter to* Richard Gough, *Eſq. Director.*

Read Jan. 31, 1793.

Dear Sir,

IN your copious deſcription and illuſtration of fonts, inſerted in the tenth volume of Archæologia, N° XXIV. at note *t*, p. 201, you have ſuggeſted, that Mr. Goſtling ſeems to have given up his conjecture that the dome on the North ſide of Canterbury cathedral, and placed oppoſite to the entrance into the Eaſt croſs aile, was a baptiſtery; and that I think the edifice was a lavatory. Concerning both theſe points it is my intention to trouble you with ſome obſervations, and to add miſcellaneous remarks on fonts in this country, which you will be pleaſed to tranſmit to our brethren in Somerſet Place, ſhould you deem the paper worthy of their attention.

To your hint of Mr. Goſtling's having relinquiſhed his notion, I muſt beg leave to expreſs my diſſent. My deceaſed reſpectable friend, as is well known to thoſe who were his moſt intimate acquaintance, was one of the many who chuſe to abide by an opinion they have themſelves formed; and it happened to him (as is the caſe with not a few of us) to become more tenacious of his own opinion as he advanced in life,

life [*a*]. When he firſt read my doubts, whether he had been quite happy in his conjecture that the building in queſtion had been a baptiſtery, and my ſurpriſe at its having been applied to a different uſe, he condeſcended to acknowledge that I had offered proofs in ſupport of my conjecture, which had in a great meaſure deſtroyed his own [*b*]; but after farther conſideration, in the ſecond edition of his entertaining Walk [*c*], which, together with the appendix, prepared and approved by himſelf, was printed from his own corrected copy, he averred that 'he ſtill thought his conjecture of its being a baptiſtery full as reaſonable as any that had appeared to the contrary [*d*].' The conceived recantation of his opinion is not in the appendix, but in the addenda [*e*], which, as implied in the advertiſement, was written by another perſon; who alſo controverted with ſucceſs a notion of Mr. Somner, adopted and maintained by Mr. Goſtling, concerning the ſituation of the Strangers Hall, by clearly ſhewing from Eadwyn's drawing, and from other unexceptionable evidence, that the Strangers hall ſtood in a diſtant part of the monaſtery; and that the building taken for it was really the Aula Nova of Eadwyn, afterwards called the North hall, and the high court of that religious houſe, whence it derived the appellation of *Hoge hall* [*f*]. The perſon who penned the greater part of the addenda was the late Dr. Beauvoir, a learned member of our Society, to whom the author of the Walk acknowledged his obligation for the very curious and

[*a*] See a letter from Dr. Pegge, in Gent. Mag. vol XLIX. p. 405.
[*b*] Gent. Mag vol. XLV. p. 13.
[*c*] See advertiſement to this edition.
[*d*] Walk in and about Canterbury, p. 186.
[*e*] Ibid. p. 398.
[*f*] Ibid, p. 397.

ingenious

ingenious account of the windows ornamented with coloured glaſs. And had there been, from the primacy of Lanfranc to the period of the diſſolution of the priory, any trace of the uſe of a baptiſtery, I concur in opinion with Dr. Beauvoir, that the proper ſituation for it would have been on the South ſide of the church, where the laity could have had an eaſy acceſs to it, and not in a quarter of the precinct that communicated with a covered gallery, through which the monks regularly paſſed to the church from their dormitory, a place of great privacy, to which no fecular was to have acceſs without a ſpecial permiſſion. It was from this circumſtance, and from reading in the conſtitutions of archbiſhop Lanfranc, for the better government of the monks of his cathedral, that they were generally to waſh their hands previouſly to their going into the choir, that I formed my conjecture. And, in order to ſatisfy you of its not being a very vague ſurmiſe, I have ſubjoined ſome of the decrees alluded to, in one of which you will ſee the term lavatory occurs [*g*]. Its having been, as marked

[*g*] Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Britan. vol. I.

Page 329, c. 1. Dominica prima hujus menſis (Octobris) cum appropinquaverit tempus horæ tertiæ, pulſetur a ſecretario modice ſignum minimum quam *Skillam* vocant, et ſtatim pergant (a clauſtro) in dormitorium, et calcient ſe diurnalibus, et cultellos accipiant; deinde ad *Lavatorium* veniant, et prius lavent ſe, et poſtea pectinent, deinde ad eccleſiam veniant, aquam benedictam ſumant, in chorum vadant.

Page 329, c. 2. Quarta et ſexta feria, cum tempus proceſſionis ſecretarius inſtare proſpexerit, ſonet unum de mediocribus ſignis, quo audito, ſtatim ſilentium fiat in clauſtro—diſcalcient ſe, manus abluant, in eccleſiam vadant.

Page 331, c. 1. In nocte dominicæ Nativitatis omnia ſigna primum pulſentur. In tertio nocturnio—tunc fratres qui ad miſſam induendi ſunt vadant ad locum conſtitutum, ubi ſit optimus ignis a famulis camerariis præparatus: baccilia quoque et manutergia et aqua calida ad abluendas manus. Hac ſola vice antequam lavent,

marked in Eadwyn's drawing [*b*], ſupplied with water, corroborates my idea; and more weight is added to it, from there certainly

lavent, pectent capita ſua. Alio enim tempore, prius lavent, poſtea pectinant. Poſt hæc pergant in eccleſiam, et facta oratione induant ſe ad celebrandam miſſam: ſacerdos honorifice, levita, dalmatica, duo ſubdiaconi tunicis.

Page 332, c. 2. Apparente luce—ſigno audito, expedite ſurgentes omnes, et abluti manus et facies, qui ad miſſam induendi ſunt vadant in oratorium, factaque oratione induantur, ſicut ad priorem miſſam—expleta miſſa vadant in dormitorium calciare ſe, poſtea ſolito more loti, et pexi faciant in oratorio orationes tres ſolitas; dicta tertia, omnes induti cappis proceſſionem faciant.

Page 333, cap. 1. In his duabus feriis (Dominica prima quadrageſſimæ quarta et ſexta) poſt nonam ſedeant in clauſtro—tunc diſcalcient ſe omnes et lavent manus, veniantque in chorum.

P. 334, c. 2. Dominica in Palmis ad invitatorium duo in albis—poſt matutinalem miſſam benedicatur aqua, ad quam ſint omnes albis induti, fiat proceſſio, &c. Poſt menſam in meridiana hora in lectis ſuis quieſcant. Appropinquante horâ nonâ pulſet ſecretarius ſignum minus modice. Tunc omnes et lavent manus et facies, et pectent ſe, et pergant in eccleſiam, ſedeantque in choro. Cum infantes loti fuerint et ad terſoria ire cœperint, pulſante majus ſignum ſecretario, ſurgant omnes de ſedilibus et ingreſſis chorum infantibus facient prius orationem, poſtea cantent nonam.

P. 340, c. 2. Diebus Rogationum—cantata ſexta vadant in dormitorium, ſicut alio tempore quando meridianis horis in lectis quieſcere ſolent, et facto intervallo parviſſimo, pulſetur ſkilla; dehinc nudis pedibus de domitorio deſcendant, manus abluant, ad eccleſiam vadant, orationem faciant.

Page 341, c. 2. Feria ſecunda (Pentecoſtes) poſt ſextam agatur meridiana: a qua ſurgentes nudis pedibus in clauſtrum veniant afferentes calciamenta ſua: poſt abluti et pectinati veniant in eccleſiam, et facta oratione, pulſatiſque duobus ſignis inchoet infans Exſurge Domine, et cetera. Sicut longe ſuperius dictum eſt, hic ordo ſervandus eſt feria quarta et ſexta uſque ad feſtivitatem Omnium Sanctorum, niſi ſit vigilia, cujus miſſa ſolennius celebretur, tunc enim proceſſio ex toto dimittitur.

Poſt ſextam in dormitorium vadant, et poſt parviſſimum intervallum pulſato minimo ſigno deſcendant, lavent, ad monaſterium pergant, factaque oratione, dictaque litania, miſſam celebrent.

In Blomefield's Hiſtory of Norfolk, v. II. p. 440, is this paſſage.—"At Norwich monaſtery, the Cellerar's lodgings were on the South ſide of the cloiſter, on which

certainly having been, almoſt contiguous to the South wall of the Preſbytery in Rocheſter cathedral, a lavatory placed near the veſtiary, uſed by the monks who were to be dreſſed in the ſacred habits for the celebration of maſs [*i*].

Mr. Goſtling, with the lively vein of humour that made his friends liſten with pleaſure to a defence of his peculiar notions, expreſſes a ſurpriſe that ſome ſhould conceive ſo public and elegant a chapel (for ſo, without any authority, he choſe to ſtyle this dome) could be deſigned for combing of heads and waſhing of hands [*k*]; but, in reply, may it not be truly ſaid that the merry Peripatetic judged of former times by the preſent, regardleſs of the opinions and manners of the fraternity who inhabited the adjoining apartments! By one of his opponents it was properly obſerved, that copious ablutions were neceſſary tō the monks from their not wearing linen, and from the rare change of their woollen habits [*l*]; and perhaps, from the ſame cauſe, a very frequent attention to the other article of cleanlineſs might be no leſs requiſite. This will account for there being four rooms, into which, according to Eadwyn's drawing, water was conveyed; and for Lanfranc's

which the Refectory, or common hall, kitchen, cellar, and buttery, were placed by the dormitory, or dortour, all which are now ſtanding, converted to other uſes. On the left hand as you go out of the door of the South-weſt corner of the cloiſter is the lavatory *, or waſhing place, where the monks waſhed their hands there being as much good fellowſhip in waſhing as in eating together.

[*h*] Vetuſta Monumenta, vol. II. pl. XV.

[*i*] Cuſtumale Roffenſe, p. 30. De famulis eccleſiæ quid facere debent.—Similiter accendunt lucernam poſt cantica ad lavatorium pro illis qui veſtiendi ſunt. See alſo the Memorials of the Church of Rocheſter, in the ſame volume, p. 177.

[*k*] Walk, p. 186.

[*l*] Gent. Mag. vol. XLIV. p. 553.

* A lavatory was thus placed in the cloiſters of Weſtminſter abbey; the water came in by a conduit, and ran out at bottom, as it did here, the pipe for that purpoſe now appearing.

repeated

repeated injunctions to waſh, and often to comb, eſpecially when ſome of them were to be the chief miniſters, and all were to join in the celebration of divine offices. A ſtriking inſtance of the great ſtreſs he laid upon their combing their heads is manifeſt in his punctilious direction relative to it on the night preceding Chriſtmas day; at which time only they were to comb their heads before they waſhed their hands, whereas at other times they might waſh before the comb was uſed. The archbiſhop has not ſpecified his motive for this curious diſtinction, nor am I able to aſſign a plauſible reaſon.

As to the elegance of this rotunda in the ſtyle of ſtructure, and in its decorations, how few buildings were there appertaining to the monaſtery that were deficient in theſe reſpects: and from the ſituation of the edifice cloſe to the door of the private oratory of the prior, it may be preſumed that, agreeably to the decrees of Lanfranc, he would, as he paſſed to the choir, occaſionally make uſe of this lavatory. However, to Mr. Goſtling's facetious innuendo, a deſcription of a dreſſing-room of the Benedictines of Durham cathedral, from a MS alleged to have been written by Prior Weſſington, is a complete anſwer: 'Within the cloyſter garth, over againſt 'the Frater-houſe door, was a *fine laver* or *conduit*, for the 'monks to waſh their hands and faces in, being in form 'round, covered with lead, and all of marble, excepting the 'outer wall, within which they might walk about the laver. 'It had many ſpouts of braſs, and ſeven windows of ſtone-'work in it, and above, a dovecoat covered with lead. *The 'workmanſhip was both fine and coſtly.* Adjoining to the Eaſt 'ſide of the conduit door hung a bell, to call the monks at 'eleven o'clock to waſh before dinner. In the cloſets, or 'almeries, on each ſide of the Frater-houſe door, in the cloiſ-'ters,

'ters, towels were kept white and clean to dry their hands 'upon [*m*].'

But though the edifice under review might be, and I ſee no room to heſitate about its really being, a lavatory, it will not follow that there might not be, at an earlier period, a baptiſtery detached from Canterbury cathedral; and if credit is to be given to Oſbern, in his Life of Archbiſhop Bregwin, Cuthbert, who was primate from the year 742 to 759, built, almoſt contiguous to the Eaſt end of the great church, a church in which he deſigned that baptiſms ſhould be celebrated; courts held for examining and correcting offenders, and archbiſhops interred [*n*]. For the word *baptiſteria*, in the paſſage referred to clearly means, and is often uſed in the ſame ſenſe by other writers, the office, and not the place of baptiſm, ſo that Cuthbert's church might, with as much propriety, have been termed a conſiſtory court, or a mauſoleum, as a baptiſtery.—The fourteenth conſtitution of the ſynodical aſſembly of abbats and prieſts, held anno 578, at Antiſiodorum [Auxerre], forbad interments in baptiſteries. (*In baptiſteriis mortui ſepeliri vetantur.* Dufreſne.) In the tranſlation of Dupin's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Cent. vi. p. 152, the word is rendered *fonts*; but *baptiſteria* muſt here mean the edifices in which fonts were placed.

Sir Henry Englefield (Archæologia, vol. X. p. 186. note *m.*) mentions ſarcophagi being converted to fonts. In Keyſler's

[*m*] Mr. Hutchinſon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Durham, vol. II. p. 65, note. From Davies' Rites of Durham, 1672, p. 130.

[*n*] Qui Eccleſiam in Orientali parte majoris eccleſiæ eidem pene contiguam in honore beati Johannis Baptiſtæ fabricavit; ut et baptiſteria, et examinationes judiciorum pro diverſis cauſis ad correctionem ſcelerum inibi celebrarentur; et Archiepiſcoporum corpora in ea ſepelirentur. Angl. Sacr. vol. II. p. 75.

Travels, vol. III. p. 11. there is a deſcription of a marble font in the cathedral of Gaeta, in Italy, that has embelliſhments very improper for a vaſe of that kind. Four lions form the pedeſtal, and the baſſo relievos of exquiſite workmanſhip exhibit fauns and ſatyrs dancing, and Mercury delivering Bacchus to Ino to be nurſed. Keyſler ſays it was brought from the ruins of Formiae to Gaeta, and he with reaſon ſuppoſes it to have belonged to a temple of Bacchus.

Concerning Cuthbert's church is there not, however, in the Walk [o], an implied endeavour to have it underſtood that the dome ſo often mentioned might be conſidered as appertaining to it? for, Mr. Goſtling's expreſſion is, that the archbiſhop erected a *magnificent range of buildings*, almoſt contiguous to the Eaſt end of the cathedral, for baptiſteries, eccleſiaſtical courts, and a place of ſepulture for the archbiſhops, *with a church dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt.* But Mr. Goſtling muſt have cited from memory, there not being in Oſbern's hiſtory any ſuch words as a *magnificent range* of buildings; the only edifice mentioned being the church, in honour of John Baptiſt, which was to be applied to three ſeveral uſes there ſpecified. Beſides, the church was almoſt contiguous to the Eaſt part of the cathedral, and the dome is directly oppoſite to the North croſs aile of the choir, and between theſe two buildings, as is manifeſt from Eadwyn's drawing, and the ichnographies in Cantuaria Sacra, and the Walk, there is a long tract of ground, covered partly by Lanfranc with the infirmary and its offices, and including ſome apartments allotted to the prior, with a court belonging to the dormitory.

To the ſixth century baptiſteries were placed without the walls of the church; though it is admitted that ſome then be-

[o] Page 86.

gan to be taken into the church porch, and they were afterwards removed into the church. Antiently there was only one baptiſtery in a city or dioceſe, and that at the epiſcopal church; but in the fourth century, Paulinus, biſhop of Nola, erected in that city a baptiſtery between two churches, and the Council of Auxerre, anno 578, ſpeaks of baptiſteries in villages at Eaſter, by allowance [*p*]. Of theſe detached baptiſteries there are a few remaining abroad; that at Florence is one of them, which is, however, mentioned by Dufreſne, as being very ſeldom uſed; *nulli fere uſui* [*q*].

Archbiſhop Cuthbert's church near Canterbury cathedral, dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt, is the only edifice of the kind that has been traced in England; nor could this be intended for the uſe of perſons in remote parts of his dioceſe; for by the ninth canon of the council of Cloveſhoo, held anno 747, in the eighth year of his Pontificate, it was enjoined that prieſts in the places and diſtricts aſſigned to them ſhould take care to diſcharge the duty of apoſtolical commiſſion, in baptiſing according to lawful rite; and in the eleventh canon all prieſts are directed to ſtudy to perform their ſacerdotal miniſtry in one and the ſame mode of baptiſing [*r*].

By the fifth canon publiſhed in the reign of Edgar, anno 960, every prieſt was inſtructed to perform baptiſm as ſoon as

[*p*] Bingham's Antiquities, B. VIII. c. vii. ſ. 6.

[*q*] Yet Mr. Watkins in his Travels, l. 287, ſays, all the children of Florence are baptized in it.

[*r*] Wilkins, Concil. v. I. p. 96. art. ix. Ut preſbyteri per loca et regiones laicorum quæ ſibi ab epiſcopis provinciæ inſinuata et injuncta ſint evangelicæ prædicationis officium in baptizando, et docendo, et viſitando ſub legitimo ritu ac diligenti cura ſtudeant explere. Art. xi. Ut cuncti preſbyteri omne ſacerdotale ſuum miniſterium, uno eodemque modo et ratione in baptizando et docendo, &c. ſtudeant agere.

it

it was required of him ; and he was to give it in charge to his pariſh, that the baptiſm of an infant was not to be delayed beyond thirty-ſeven days [*s*]. But by the tenth law of the Northumbrian prieſts, anno 950, the child was to be baptized within nine days, and, in caſe of neglect, a penalty of ſix *ore* (which means an ounce) was incurred [*t*]. The maſs prieſt was alſo, by the third ordinance of the Eccleſiaſtical laws of the kings Alfred and Guthrun, enacted by common conſent, anno 878, ſubject to a mulct, if he did not fetch the chriſm duly at the appointed time (Maundy Thurſday), or refuſed to baptize in caſe of neceſſity [*u*]. All which rules ſhew that, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the baptiſtery at a cathedral could not be in general uſe.

How long the inhabitants of Canterbury and its environs might be expected, or permitted, to reſort for baptiſm to the church built by archbiſhop Cuthbert, cannot be aſcertained. But, after this diſtrict was divided into pariſhes, it may be reaſonably preſumed that the churches were made baptiſmal, when of courſe the above cited canons in their letter and ſpirit would extend to the officiating prieſts. And if they regularly applied for the chriſm, and paid the cuſtomary fee, it was probably conſidered as a ſufficient acknowledgment of their dependance in this caſe upon the cathedral church.

St. Martin's church, which may be within half a mile of the cathedral, has a font, which Mr Goſtling thought defer-

[*s*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 226. art. xv. Docemus etiam ut quilibet ſacerdos baptiſmum peragat ſimulac requiritur, et deinde in parochia ſua præcipiat intra xxxvii dies.

[*t*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 218. art. ix. Si preſbyter juſto tempore chriſma non quærat, ſolvat xii oras.—x. Quilibet infans mature baptizetur intra ix dies ſub pœna vi orarum, &c.

[*u*] Johnſon's Coll. of Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

ving

ving of notice as a venerable piece of antiquity, and you have alſo remarked that the form, as well as its ornaments, pleads ſtrongly in favour of this opinion [*v*.]

As to fonts in England, Mr. Carte ſuggeſts his not recollecting to have obſerved the word before the time of the archbiſhop Edmund, as I ſuppoſe him to mean [*w*], becauſe he preſently adds his having referred to a canon of that primate in which the word occurs. Mr. Johnſon, however, in his Collectiõn of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, under the year 957, has inſerted in the thirty-ſeventh canon of Elfric this injunction. "Let no oil be put into the *font*, except a child be there baptized." What may be the Saxon word he has thus rendered I am not aware, not having it in my power to examine the MS. he has cited. But William of Malmſbury uſes the word *fons*, when reciting the monkiſh tale of Dunſtan's having prognoſticated that Ethelred, the ſon of Edgar, would be a poltroon, becauſe he had defiled the baptiſmal water in which he was immerſed [*x*].

Previous to the iſſuing of the conſtitutions of archbiſhop Edmund, I meet with three canons in which is the word *fons*. The firſt is the council of Durham, anne 1220 [*y*]. The ſecond the council of Oxford, held anno 1222 [*z*]. The third the conſtitution of William de Bleys, biſhop of Wincheſter,

[*v*] Walk, p. 26. and Archæologia, vol. X. p. 187.

[*w*] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 212.

[*x*] De Geſt. Reg. Angl. Lib. II. c. 10. init. Cum puſiolus in fonte baptiſmi mergeretur, circumſtantibus epiſcopis alvi profluvio ſacramenta interpolavit; quare ille (Dunſtanus) turbatus, per deum inquit et matrem ejus ignavus homo erit.

[*y*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 576.

[*z*] Ibid p. 594.

anno

anno 1229 [*a*]. I alſo find it in the provincial council of Scotland, anno 1225 [*b*].

The conſtitutions of Edmund were publiſhed about the year 1236 [*c*]. In article IX. is the word *fontes*, and in the tenth the term *baptiſterium* is repeated. Upon theſe canons, as upon moſt other of the eccleſiaſtical laws which were in force in Lyndwood's time, he has copiouſly commented; and I will beg leave to conſider ſome of his gloſſes which are rather queſtionable, a circumſtance not in the leaſt ſtrange in ſo elaborate a compilation.

Mr. Carte, in his ſecond letter to Dr. Ducarel [*d*], after quoting two ſhort hints from Dupin's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, mentions the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing whether they relate to the edifice in which baptiſm was actually adminiſtered, or to the reſervoir that contained the water intended for that ſolemnity, remarking that this is a direction which ſhould be nicely animadverted to in all obſervations concerning this ſubject. This is certainly a pertinent precaution, though I

[*a*] Wilkins, Concil. p. 623.

[*b*] Ibid. p. 614.

[*c*] Ibid. p. 636. art. ix. Tit. quod fontes ſint ſub firma ſerura. Fontes ſub ſerura clauſi teneantur propter ſortilegia. Chriſma ſimiliter et oleum ſacrum ſub clave cuſtodiantur.

Art. x. Tit. De Baptiſterio, et de aqua baptiſmali; et quid ſit faciendum cum aqua et vaſe in quibus propter neceſſitatem pueri domi baptizentur.

Baptiſterium habeatur in qualibet eccleſia baptiſmali lapideum vel aliud, competens; id decenter cooperiatur, et reverenter conſervetur, et in alios uſus non convertatur. Aqua vero in qua baptizatus eſt puer, ultra ſeptem dies in baptiſterio non ſervetur. Si vero puer a laico domi propter neceſſitatem fuerit baptizatus aqua propter reverentiam baptiſmi vel fundatur in ignem, vel ad eccleſiam in baptiſterium fundenda deferatur, et vas illud vel comburatur, vel ad uſus eccleſiæ deputetur.

[*d*] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 210.

am

am apt to ſuſpect that in the eccleſiaſtical canons of this country, *baptiſterium* and *fons* may be almoſt always conſidered as ſynonymous. He then ſuggeſts that the word *baptiſterium* in the canon of archbiſhop Edmund, to which he had before alluded, was, if he may be allowed to judge, uſed promiſcuouſly, to ſignify the place or ſtation for ſolemnizing baptiſm, and alſo the reſervoir for holding water. Such alſo was the opinion of Lyndwood, whoſe Gloſs I imagine Mr. Carte to have had in his thoughts [*e*]; but, as I apprehend, the word *baptiſterium*, in all the three inſtances, denoted the font.

At the beginning, it is ſaid that the baptiſtery in every church ſhould be of ſtone, or other (proper) material, and that it ſhould be decently covered. But as the baptiſtery was not to be without, but in the church, to enjoin that it ſhould have a roof over it, ſeems to have been ſuperfluous. The cover ordered was, I conceive, to be laid over the vaſe, and kept faſt with a lock, in purſuance of the preceding canon for fear of ſorcery [*f*], and not ſuch an octagonal ſtone canopy as is over the font at Luton, which could be no ſecurity. This ſtone chapel, capable of containing with eaſe ſeven or eight perſons. and encompaſſing the font, I agree with you, may be properly ſtyled a baptiſtery, and it may be the only one of the kind in England [*g*]; though it is likely that before our churches had in them ſo many pews for the congregation, fonts might be more frequently than they are at preſent, fixed in a pew for the convenience of the ſponſors. Several of our country churches are ſo ſmall as not now to

[*e*] *Baptiſterium*, i. e. locus, ſive ſtatio baptiſmatis, ſive baptizatorium.

[*f*] "Propter ſortilegiam," which, according to Lyndwood, was better concealed than explained, quæ honeſtius eſt tacere quam dicere."

[*g*] Archæologia, vol. X. 195.

admit

admit of ſuch a partition being conſtructed; and it ſeems to have been owing to a want of room that fonts were often ſet up againſt a pillar; and becauſe they were to be thus rather aukwardly placed, a pannel was left unornamented, as is the caſe with the curiouſly ſculptured fonts in the churches of Shorne and Southfleet [*b*].

Baptiſterium is likewiſe the word in the ſame canon, where directions are given concerning the not keeping in it the conſecrated water beyond ſeven days, and for pouring into it the water uſed by a layman in baptizing an infant at home from neceſſity; and in both theſe inſtances there cannot, I think, be a doubt of the *font's* being meant.

Of the ninth conſtitution of the council held at Oxford under archbiſhop Walter Reynolds, anno 1322, in the paſſage which requires children, on the third day after confirmation, to be carried to the church, that their foreheads may be waſhed by the prieſt in the baptiſtery, in honour of the chriſm; Lyndwood interprets *baptiſterium* to be the place where the font ſtands [*i*]; though I can ſee no reaſon why the waſhing was not to be made with the water from the font. There could not ſurely be the leaſt indecorum in this application of the conſecrated water, nor any pretence for conſidering it as re-baptiſm, becauſe the form of words in the adminiſtration of baptiſm was not to be uſed. And I am, I think, warranted in concluding Lyndwood's Gloſs to be erroneous, from its being declared in the conſtitution of William de Cantilupe, biſhop of Wincheſter, anno 1240, that the little

[*b*] Archæol. vol. X. p. 191; and Thorne's Antiquities, p. 112.

[*i*] Wilkins, Concil, vol. II. p. 512. Item parvuli confirmati tertio die poſt confirmationem deportentur ad eccleſiam, ut frontes eorum per manus ſacerdotum in baptiſterio propter reverentiam chriſmatis abluantur ibidem.—*Baptiſterio*, i. e. loco in eccleſia, ubi fit baptiſmus, non enim debes intelligere quod iſta lavatio fiat in fonte baptiſmali, nec de aqua fontis, ſed debet fieri in loco ubi ſcituatur fons, viz. juxta ipſum fontem. Lyndwode.

children who had been confirmed were to be waſhed in the font of baptiſm [*k*].

That the font ſhould be of ſtone, *vel aliud*, is thus explained by Lyndwood—that any other material of which it was formed ſhould be ſuitable and decent, viz. ſuch as was ſolid, durable, ſtrong, and would retain the water poured into it [*l*]. In ſome conſtitutions it is only ſaid, that it ſhall be of ſtone; but, according to the provincial ſynod of Scotland before mentioned, it might be of ſtone or wood [*m*]. If, at an early period, there were in England any fonts of wood, it is not likely that they ſhould have laſted to the preſent age. *Competens* in the canon is interpreted by Lyndwood to be of a ſize large enough for immerging in the font the baptized infant, which is well expreſſed in the conſtitution of biſhop William de Cantilupe, that it ſhould be of a proper circumference and depth [*n*]. And doubtleſs there are remaining ſeveral fonts, of high antiquity, of dimenſions ſufficient for this purpoſe. The font in *Wilmington* church is little inferior in ſize to that in Darenth church [*o*]. It is a block nearly round, excavated into a circular baſin lined with lead, having a perforation at the bottom, but without the leaſt embelliſhment on any part of it. *Darenth* font is rounded

[*k*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 667.—Qui confirmati fuerint, poſt triduum portentur ad eccleſiam, in fonte baptiſmatis abluendi.

[*l*] Quæ ſit ſolida, durabilis, fortis, ac aquæ infuſæ retentiva.

[*m*] Lapideum vel ligneum. The font in which the king's children in Scotland were baptized was of braſs. Willis, Mitred Abbeys, vol. I. p. 15.

Archæol. vol. X. p. 187. You mention four fonts made of lead. It appears from Aubrey (Antiquities of Surry, vol. II. p. 290.), that in the church of Walton upon the Hill, there is a very old leaden font adorned with nine figures, in a ſitting poſture, their faces much mangled.

You inform me that you have ſince heard of another at Clifton, near Dorcheſter, in Oxfordſhire.

[*n*] *Competens*, quod baptizandus poſſit in eo mergi. Lyndwood.

In qualibet eccleſia baptiſmalis ſit fons lapideus, decentis amplitudinis et profunditatis. Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 666.

[*o*] Mr. Thorpe's Antiquities, p. 94.

and excavated. Its brim is three inches in width, the internal diameter twenty-nine [*p*], the depth ſeventeen, of which fourteen inches in the lower part, where it is ſomewhat narrower than at the top, are lined with lead; and at the bottom there is a hole for drawing off the baptiſmal water. There are on the outſide eight compartments with columns alternately circular and angular, and ſemicircular arches; and, what is remarkable, the capitals of them are nearly ſimilar to thoſe on the Saxon baptiſtery of the church of St. Peter in the Eaſt, Oxford, of which Mr. Hearne has given a plate in his preface to the firſt volume of Leland's Collectanea [*q*]. A view of Darenth font, from a delineation by Bayley, is exhibited in the late Mr. Thorpe's Antiquities, pl. xi. The ſubjects of only two of the pannels can be preciſely determined; viz. David playing on his harp, and a prieſt, accompanied with a female figure, baptizing an infant in a font. But there are likewiſe not a few fonts unqueſtionably antient, which would not admit of a total immerſion or ſubmerſion, though immerſion, or ſubmerſion, not ſprinkling, was the enjoined mode of baptizing. Of this number were the fonts in the churches of *Farningham*, *Shorne*, *Southfleet* [*r*], and *Offam*. A ſketch of the laſt, delineated by my friend Mr. Latham [*s*], is tranſmitted; for, it is evident there was, in theſe, only room for a partial dipping of an infant; perhaps firſt on the right ſide, ſecondly the left, third time the face towards the font, as, after ſome old rubric, is the direction given in the firſt book of the Common Prayer of king Edward VI. [*t*]

In a former page it has been ſhewn that infant baptiſm was enjoined to our Saxon anceſtors, and needleſs muſt it be to

[*p*] The font at Preſhute is *two feet* and an *half* diameter. Archæol. v. X. p. 186.
[*q*] Copied in Archæol. vol. I. p. 150.
[*r*] Mr. Thorpe's Antiquities, plate xvii.
[*s*] Plate X.
[*t*] Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 340.

offer proofs from our eccleſiaſtical laws that it was for many ſucceeding centuries the almoſt univerſal practice in this country. The ſtated times for baptizing were on the eves of Eaſter and Pentecoſt; or, to ſpeak more properly, theſe were the times attempted to be eſtabliſhed; it being evident that, from a miſconceived idea of the conſequence of baptiſm on theſe days, many, as the conſtitution of Otto expreſſes it, anno 1232-3, being impoſed upon by a diabolical fraud, ſuſpected danger if children were then baptized, and would not therefore conform to the canons which enjoined it [*u*]. With the view of gradually removing a prejudice, founded, as it is thought, on the fear of childrens' dying in the intermediate time, the conſtitution of Othobon, which limited baptiſm to the two feſtivals, was ſo explained by archbiſhop Peckham, as to allow that children born eight days before Eaſter, and as many before Pentecoſt, ſhould be alone reſerved to be baptized at thoſe times, if it might be done without danger; but that children born at other times of the year might be baptized according to the old cuſtom, either preſently as they are born, or afterwards at the diſcretion of their parents, not only on account of the danger of ſudden death to which children are liable, but for the ſimplicity of their parents, who are apt to miſtake in the form of baptiſm [*x*]. And as women were admoniſhed to have water in readineſs for baptizing the child, when they apprehended the time of delivery to be at hand, and both laymen and women might, in a caſe of neceſſity, baptize; it was likewiſe ordained that the clergy ſhould frequently, on the Lord's day, inſtruct their pa-

[*u*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p. 650. Sed quidam in partibus iſtis diabolica ut audivimus fraude decepti, periculum ſuſpicantur, ſi præfatis diebus pueri baptizentur.

[*x*] Ibid. vol. II. p. 36.

riſhioners

riſhioners in what manner, and with what form of words, it was to be performed [*y*].

The proceſs of examination of a midwife relative to this ceremony, is thus entered in the conſiſtorial acts of the dioceſe of Rocheſter.

'Anno 1523, Oct. 14, Eliz. Gaynsforde, obſtetrix, examinata dicit in vim juramenti ſui ſub hac formâ verborū. I the aforeſaid Elizabeth ſeeing the child of Thomas Everey late born in jeopardy of life, by the authority of my office, then beyng midwyfe, did chriſten the ſame child under this manner. In the name of the Fader, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, I chriſten thee Denys; effundend' meram aquam ſuper caput infantul'. Interrogata erat, whether the childe was born and delivered from the wyfe of the ſaid Thomas; whereto ſhe anſwereth and ſayth, that the child was not born, for ſhe ſaw nothing of the child but the hedde, and for perell the childe was in, and in that tyme of nede, ſhe chriſtened as is aforeſaid, and caſte water with her hand on the child's hede; after which the child was born, and was had to the churche, where the prieſte gave to it that chryſtenden that lakkyd, and the child is yet alyf.'

From theſe rules, indulgencies, and practice, this inference may be deduced, that, probably, in former days, there were fewer infants baptized at the font than there are at preſent.

[*y*] Wilkins, Concil. v. II. p. 53. Forma autem ſacramenti in lingua vulgari conſiſtit non ſolum in ſignificatis, verum etiam in ordine eorundem, quo ipſum ſacramentum eſt divinitus inſtitutum; quo Chriſtus Dominus illis verbis et taliter ordinatis, ut ſunt, in lingua Latina regenerativam contulit poteſtatem. Dicitur ergo ſic a taliter baptizantibus; 'Ich criſtin the in the Fadere's name,' &c. vel aliter in lingua materna ſecundum patriæ conſuetudinem, vel in Gallico ſic. 'Je baptize tey en noun del peere,' &c.

By

By divers canons the veſſel that had contained the water, in which lay perſons had baptized children, was to be devoted to the ſervice of the church. And, could this law have been ſtrictly enforced, it might in a great degree have checked the vanity and pomp of applying ſilver veſſels to this purpoſe, which Mr. Carte cenſured in a family at Leiceſter [z]. And Dr. Daniel Featley, in a ſermon delivered in Lambeth church, October 29, 1619, when archbiſhop Abbot and the duke of Buckingham were godfathers in perſon, thus noticed the uſe of veſſels ſtill more coſtly: 'Jeſus (exclaimed the energetic preacher) was baptized in the open and common river Jordan; where are they who diſdain the common font? no font will ſerve them but a font of gold new-made, or a ſilver baſon with their arms on it [a].'

Whether there was more than one font in a church is a point repeatedly conſidered by Mr. Carte, in conſequence of *fontes baptiſmales* being mentioned in a canon of archbiſhop Edmund. In one paſſage (p. 210) he ſays, that it ſeems to have been a regard to the diſtinction between the baptiſmal font, and the baptiſtery, as denoting the place of its ſituation, that might occaſion the introduction of the words *fons* and *fontes*; but I have already ſhewn, that in the canon he alludes to, the word *baptiſterium* is not uſed promiſcuouſly, and he afterwards acknowledges (p. 212) that the word *cooperiatur* muſt be applied to the font. In another paſſage (p. 213) where citing the formulary which allowed to the chapel of Montgomery, on its being advanced to the dignity of a church, to have fonts *(fontes)*, he propoſes a Query, Whether one for adults, and another for infants? but, as I apprehend,

[z] Archæolog. vol. X. p. 221.

[a] Clavis Myſtica, p. 215.

the

the baptizing of infants was in that age ſo general a practice, and the baptizing of adults ſo ſeldom happened (perhaps of a very few converted Jews), that no ſuch proviſion would be made for the baptizing of grown perſons; and in fact we find, that in moſt of the canons enjoining fonts to be conſtructed, the terms children, and little ones *(pueri, parvuli)* uſually follow. Mr. Robinſon, you ſay, (p. 208*) in his lately publiſhed "Hiſtory of Baptiſm," ſuggeſts, that the bath near one end of the church of Eaſt Dereham in Norfolk was a baptiſtery. Judging, however, from a deſcription of it given me by my friend Mr. Currey, of Dartford, who was formerly vicar of that pariſh, I am apt to conclude, that the bath was more likely to have been an holy well, poſſeſſed, by repute, of ſome miraculous ſanative qualities. Mr. Pennant notices this religious cuſtom among the Welch: 'If there be a *Fynnon Vair*, the well of our lady, or any other Saint, the water for baptiſm was always brought from thence; and, after the ceremony was over, old women were very fond of waſhing their eyes in the water of the font[*b*].'

The conſecrating, according to the Romiſh ritual, with ſalt and oil a bath once a week, to render it baptiſmal water, is not a very probable ſuppoſition. The ancient canon of Elfric, (anno 657. 37) already cited, directed no oil to be put in the font, except a child be there baptized.

In a third paſſage (p. 223) Mr. Carte rather inclines to believe there might be two fonts, becauſe by the uſage of the church of Rome a multiplicity of altars was become ſo frequent. But are not the caſes widely different? Each altar had its tutelar ſaint, real or imaginary; whereas the ſervice performed at the font was always in the name of the bleſſed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

[*b*] Tour in Wales, vol. II. part II.

Beſides,

Beſides, as Mr. Carte confeſſed he did not know an inſtance of a plurality of fonts in one church, it is ſomewhat ſtrange that he ſhould immediately ſtart a doubt upon the ſubject: and unleſs I am miſtaken, there is not a canon, provincial or ſynodical, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the preſent times, which, if fairly interpreted, will countenance a ſurmiſe of there having been two baptiſmal fonts in the ſame church.

The eighty-firſt canon of the conſtitutions of 1603 runs thus:

'According to a former conſtitution there ſhould be a *font* of ſtone in every church.'—The former conſtitution, biſhop Gibſon ſays, was among the canons of 1571, which required churchwardens to take care that there ſhould be *a ſacred font* in which baptiſm was to be adminiſtered. And the articles and injunctions of cardinal Pole, biſhop Ridley, and archbiſhop Cranmer, all ſpecify *a ſingle font* [*c*]. In the conſtitution of Peter Quivil, biſhop of Exeter, anno 1287, *baptiſtery (baptiſterium)* is the word [*d*]. In that of the province of York, anno 1250, a holy or conſecrated *font* is the expreſſion [*e*]; and *font* is likewiſe in that of Walter de Cantilupe, biſhop of Worceſter, anno 1240 [*f*]. In the tenth canon of archbiſhop Edmund, where, as before obſerved, baptiſtery muſt ſignify the font, it is in the ſingular number; and by the fourth chapter of the conſtitutions of biſhop William de Bleys, anno 1229, there was to be a baptiſmal font of ſtone, which according to the title was to be placed in the body of

[*c*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. IV. pp. 169—61—25

[*d*] Ibid. vol. II. p. 139. cap. xii. Baptiſterium lapideum bene ſeratum.

[*e*] Ibid, vol. I. p. 698.—Fons ſacer cum ſerura.

[*f*] Ibid. vol I. p. 666. Fons lapideus, in quo parvuli baptizentur.

the church [*h*]. *Baptiſtery*, in the ſingular number, is alſo the term in the council of Scotland [*i*], and in the council of Durham, anno 1220 [*k*].

It is true that in the preceding articles of theſe two councils, as well as in the ninth article of the conſtitutions of Edmund, *fonts* (fontes) in the plural number occur, but it is only in the conſtitution of Edmund, as printed in Lyndwood's Collection, that the word *baptiſmales* is ſubjoined, which may therefore be deemed an erroneous reading. Nor can this be cenſured as too free a correction, when it is conſidered that in the ſubſtance of theſe articles in the three councils there is hardly any other variation; and that *baptiſmales* is not to be found in the conſtitutions of Edmund publiſhed by Wilkins from a copy in the Cottonian collection, collated with two more MSS. of authenticity [*l*]. Some farther directions being thought neceſſary concerning the baptiſmal font, they were given in the next canon of each council, and the term *baptiſterium* adopted. And it is obſervable that in the prohibition againſt keeping beyond ſeven days in the baptiſtery the water that had been uſed in baptiſm, there is no other difference of expreſſion than in the mode or tenſe of the Latin word *baptizor* [*m*].

(*h*) Wilkins, Concil, vol. I. p. 623. cap. 4. de ornatu corporis eccleſiæ—Fons baptiſmalis, lapideus, et decenter coopertus.

[*i*] Ib. v. I. p. 614. Fontes ſub ſera clauſa cuſtodiantur. Chriſma ſimiliter, &c. Baptiſterium habeatur in qualibet eccleſia baptiſmali lapideum vel ligneum competens, &c.

[*k*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 576. Tit. Fontes ſub ſera claudantur

Fontes ſub ſera clauſi teneantur propter ſortilegium.

Chriſma ſimiliter, et ſacrum oleum ſub clave cuſtodiantur.

[*l*] Ex MS. Cott. Otho. A. XV. fol. 28. b. collat. cum MS. Lambeth, n. 17. et Elienſi, note, p. 235. vide art. ix. and x. p. 119. note *c*.

[*m*] Concil. Dunelm. Aqua vero in qua *baptizatur* puer ultra ſeptem dies in baptiſterio non ſervetur.——Concil. Scoticanum—in qua *baptizatus fuerit*.

Concil. Edmund.—in qua *baptizatus eſt*.

The queſtion may then be aſked, what is the true meaning of *fontes* in theſe canons? For ſome time, I muſt own, I was rather of opinion that the plural number was uſed, becauſe the injunctions might be ſuppoſed to extend to many churches; but this could not be the caſe in the formular which granted the privilege of having fonts [*n*] to the church of Montgomery. I am therefore inclined to imagine that by fonts may be here underſtood the veſſel in which the baptiſmal water was conſecrated, and alſo the veſſel which contained the holy water *(aqua benedicta)*. By a conſtitution of Peter de Quivil, biſhop of Exeter, a veſſel for holy water was to be provided for every church [*o*]; and in a conſtitution of a ſynod of Winton, held under William de Bleys, it is mentioned that this veſſel ſhould be of tin, or at leaſt of lead [*p*], but that, as I apprehend, was a ſmall veſſel, which the prieſt, or his aſſiſtant, could carry, when he ſprinkled the people on ſolemn days. The veſſel to which I allude was of ſtone, ſimilar to a font, but on a ſmaller ſcale, and relics of ſuch a reſervoir are ſtill to be ſeen near the principal entrance into many of our churches, generally within a receſs that has an angular arch [*q*]. It was as requiſite to keep the holy as the baptiſ-

[*n*] It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, on the ſubject of the word *fontes*, uſed in the plural number, as mentioned by Mr. Denne, that the French, in ſpeaking of the font, do, to this day, uſe the plural number. They ſay, for example, "Il a été tenu ſur les fonts baptiſmaux."

I do not pretend to give any reaſon for this mode of ſpeaking.

H. C. Englefield.

[*o*] Wilkins, vol. II. p. 139.

[*p*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 623. Vas ſtanneum vel plumbeum ad minus ad aquam benedictam.

[*q*] Dr. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, p. 137, obſerves, "The next thing that will of courſe ſtrike one's imagination is, their uſe of holy water; for, nobody

baptiſmal water under key, from a dread of ſorcerous practices; and it was a ſecondary reaſon for carefully ſecuring the holy water, that the profits accruing from the diſtribution of it in the [r] country were appropriated to the maintenance of poor ſcholars.

I am informed by a gentleman, very converſant in antient rituals, that the holy-water ſtoup, fixed near the doors of churches, is ſometimes called *labrum*, and alſo *fons*. Dufreſne's explanation of *Labrum* may be ſeen in the note [s]; but I have not in Lyndwood obſerved that ſignification of the word *fons*.

In churches of what denomination were fonts to be placed, is another material article in the hiſtory of them, which the canon of archbiſhop Edmund, with the Gloſs of Lyndwood, leads us to examine. The canon directs there ſhould be a baptiſtery in every baptiſmal church; and Lyndwood's explanation of a baptiſmal church is, whether cathedral or parochial, ſuch as have people, i. e. the laity connected with them; for, in a collegiate or conventual church, which has not any ſuch people, there ought not to be a font.

Having then grounds for concluding that for many centuries there was not a font in either Canterbury, or St. Paul's cathedral; and not tracing a parochial altar in either of thoſe churches, as there appeared to have been in both Saliſbury and Rocheſter cathedrals; I ventured to offer a ſurmiſe, that in general there might not have been a font in any cathedral, which had not ſome of the laity ſo dependent upon it as to

nobody ever goes in or out of a church, but is either ſprinkled by the prieſt, who attends for that purpoſe on ſolemn days, or elſe ſerves himſelf with it from a veſſel, uſually of marble, placed juſt at the door, not unlike to one of our *baptiſmal fonts*."

[r] See Johnſon's Eccleſ. Laws. Boniface's Conſtitut. MCCLXI. c. 22. note *k*.

[s] *Labrum*. Iſidor. xx. p. 6. vocatur eo quod in eo lavationem ſolitum eſt fieri infantum. Dufreſne adds, "Vox Latinis non ignota, et ab Anaſtatio in S. Silveſtro pp. uſurpata ad indicandum fontis baptiſmalis concham, in qua continebatur aqua ad baptiſmum neceſſaria."

be under a neceſſity of reſorting to it for baptiſm, and for the performance of their religious duties of the parochial kind.

To Mr. Goſtling this ſeemed ſo extravagant a notion, that he confeſſed he knew not how to deal with the argument [*t*] ; and, by another learned and a very candid correſpondent, I was charged with having cited Lyndwood for a doctrine not at all applicable to the point in diſpute, and for ſtarting an hypotheſis, which the comment of that civilian would not in the leaſt ſupport [*u*].

In vindication, however, of my ſurmiſe, I ſhall take the liberty to obſerve, that my meaning was not clearly comprehended. To queſtion the right of cathedrals to the denomination of baptiſmal, in the fulleſt extent of the word, was far from my thoughts. It was the exerciſe of the right that I had in contemplation ; or, rather, the right of any of the laity to be baptized within a cathedral. If there were any lay perſons who could maintain this claim, a font muſt neceſſarily have been provided for the purpoſe ; but otherwiſe to have ſubjected a prior and his convent to the charge of conſtructing a font would, with reaſon, have been complained of as a grievance. Had the canon in queſtion been deemed to affect Canterbury cathedral, the not obeying it was in the monks an inexcuſable neglect ; and a ſtrange remiſſneſs was it likewiſe in archbiſhop Edmund, and his ſucceſſors, not to enforce the injunction. And yet Somner aſſures us that he could not diſcover there being any fixed font from 1236 to 1636. With regard to the church erected by Cuthbert for baptiſms and other purpoſes, Lanfranc converted it into an infirmary chapel ; and, by the rules of the Benedictine order,

[*t*] Walk, p. 94.

[*u*] Gent. Mag. vol. XLV. p. 116.

the

the infirmary was ſituated in the moſt retired diſtrict of the convent [*x*].

Mr. Goſtling inſinuates that I ought to have ſhewn when cathedrals parted with this honour; but my opinion is, that the governing members of theſe churches, regular and ſecular, would never, unleſs by compulſion, formally renounce any privilege to which they were entitled; and, notwithſtanding a very long diſcontinuance of baptiſm, they might, by our eccleſiaſtical laws and uſages, have reſumed the celebration of this ſacrament whenever they had pleaſed, and would aſſuredly have done ſo, had they ſeen any advantage likely to ariſe from it; but, owing to a diſuſe of only a ſingle form, often previouſly neceſſary to the performance of another rite, it has happened to one cathedral, perhaps to more than one, that the church, by an act of the legiſlature, has been debarred the exerciſe of it in future. All cathedrals were antiently matrimonial as well as baptiſmal churches; but by the ſtatute of the 26 Geo. II. cap. 37, no marriage, either by banns, or by the licence of the ordinary, can be ſolemnized in any other place than a church or public chapel, where banns had been uſually publiſhed before the paſſing of that act. And, banns not having been within memory publiſhed in Rocheſter cathedral, no marriage can now be there ſolemnized, unleſs by ſpecial licence from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, without ſubjecting the officiating miniſter to the riſque of a ſentence of tranſportation for fourteen years.

Can we, on my principle, account for the fonts in the cathedrals of Wincheſter and Lincoln, is a doubt ſuggeſted by

[*x*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. II. p. 247, Cuſtumale Roffenſe, p. 30. Serviens in domo infirmorum maxime cuſtodiet hoſtium ab ingreſſu laicorum, ne aliquis abſque licentia magiſtri ſui introcet.

you [*y*], which I will endeavour to obviate by propoſing this queſtion. Might there not have been parochial altars in theſe cathedrals, as we have evidence there were in thoſe of Rocheſter and Saliſbury? And when churches were built, the better to accommodate the inhabitants of diſtricts who had parochial altars in cathedrals, they might not be allowed to take with them the fonts they had uſed; or it might be to them a matter of indifference whether they did or not. Suppoſing the embelliſhments of the curious font at Wincheſter to be deſcriptive, as they probably are, of ſome remarkable occurrence in the hiſtory of that cathedral, it is not difficult to aſſign a reaſon for the monks keeping that, to them, ineſtimable relict of antiquity: and, if the original font in the nave of Rocheſter cathedral was a veſſel of a ſtructure as ordinary as that which is there at preſent, I can eaſily believe that the pariſhioners of St. Nicholas were not ſolicitous to obtain a removal of it; and we accordingly find in the compoſition made between the prior and the convent of St. Andrew, and the inhabitants of the city of Rocheſter, that the pariſhioners were permitted to erect in their new church or chapel of St. Nicholas, a baptiſtery, in which any of the pariſhioners might be baptized [*z*]. A ſketch of the font now in that church may be ſeen in Plate XI.

The phraſe in the eighty-ſecond canon eſtabliſhed in 1603, that there ſhould be a font in every church or chapel where *baptiſm had been uſually adminiſtered* [*a*], would, I conceive, be as pertinent a gloſs on the word *baptiſmali* in the canon of archbiſhop Edmund, as that of Lyndwood, *which has a*

[*y*] Archæol. vol. X. p. 202.

[*z*] Regiſtrum Roffenſe, p. 564. Item quod bene liceat dictis parochianis baptiſterium in dicta eccleſia ſive capella erigere et quoſcunque parochianos ejuſdem in ea baptizari facere.

[*a*] *Ubi baptiſmus adminiſtrari conſuevit*, which biſhop Gibſon has inadvertently rendered, where baptiſm *is to be adminiſtered.*

Font in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, Rochester.

people. But, be this as it may, there is another part of Lyndwood's Comment of doubtful interpretation; it not being clear whether he meant to insinuate that churches collegiate and conventual, as not having a people, ought not to have fonts in them [*b*]. But, if such were his idea, he was certainly mistaken, there having been several churches that were both collegiate and parochial, and some conventual churches, even of those appertaining to nunneries, in which there were parochial altars, and where fonts were of course necessary.

Of collegiate churches of this class I will mention five in Kent; Bredgar, Cobham, Maidstone, Ulcombe, and Wingham. And the parishioners of St. Leonard, Foster-lane, in London, were wont to resort to the altar of St. Leonard, in the collegiate church of the dean and chapter of St. Mary Le Grand, till they had a chapel erected for them in the court belonging to that church [*c*]. As to churches conventual, I have not any authority for suggesting that there ever was a parochial altar in the abbey church of St. Albans, or a font till after the suppression it became parochial, when Sir Richard Lee presented to it the font made of brass, brought from Edinburgh, in which the children of the kings of Scotland had been baptized [*d*]. The altar, you have (p. 204) alluded to, might be what was commonly called the altar of the rood, or of the crucifix; and by Mr. Hutchinson, in his History and Antiquities of Durham [*e*], the altar of Jesus; and perhaps, on a comparison, some resemblance

[*b*] The whole of Lyndwood's Gloss is as follows: *Ecclesia baptismali*, sive cathedrali, sive parochiali, tali, viz. quæ habet populum; nam in ecclesia collegiata vel conventuali quæ non habet populum non debet esse baptisterium.

[*c*] Newcourt, Repertor. vol. I. p. 392.

[*d*] Willis, Mitred Abbeys, vol. I. p. 15.

[*e*] Vol. I. p. 253.

might

might be found between the handſome ſcreen of niches in St. Alban's church, and the fine wainſcot like to a porch, with which each end of the altar in Durham cathedral was cloſed [*f*]. There were, however, indiſputably, a parochial altar and font in the conventual church of Sherborne; and it is likewiſe evident that there were parochial altars in the churches of the priories of St. Botolph, in Colcheſter [*g*], and of Chriſt church within Aldgate, the latter for the uſe of the inhabitants of St. Catharine Cree church [*h*]. The inhabitants of Cateſby in Northamptonſhire, whilſt that nunnery remained, muſt, as I collect from Bridges [*i*], have had a parochial altar in that conventual church; and the pariſh church of St. Helens, Biſhopſgate, was within the church of the contiguous nunnery [*k*].

From Mr. Latham's repreſentation of the font ſtanding in the nave of the abbey church of Romſey in Hants, I at firſt imagined it might have been fixed there for the uſe of the pariſhioners previous to the diſſolution of the nunnery; but I have now my doubts, becauſe there is a tradition relative to a detached pariſh church in former days, though the ſite of it is unknown, and it being certain that the buildings appertaining to the nunnery were purchaſed by the corporation after its diſſolution. By favour of Mr. Latham and his ſon, who has lately engaged in a brewery, the premiſes of which cover a part of the ground that was within the convent precinct, I have it in my power to communicate an accurate drawing of the font [*l*], which I am ſatisfied will be acceptable to the Society.

[*f*] An objection to this is, that the ſtone ſcreen, with its altar, at St. Alban's, is conſiderably weſt both of the high altar and the centre tower. R. G.

[*g*] Newcourt, Rep. vol. II. p. 166.

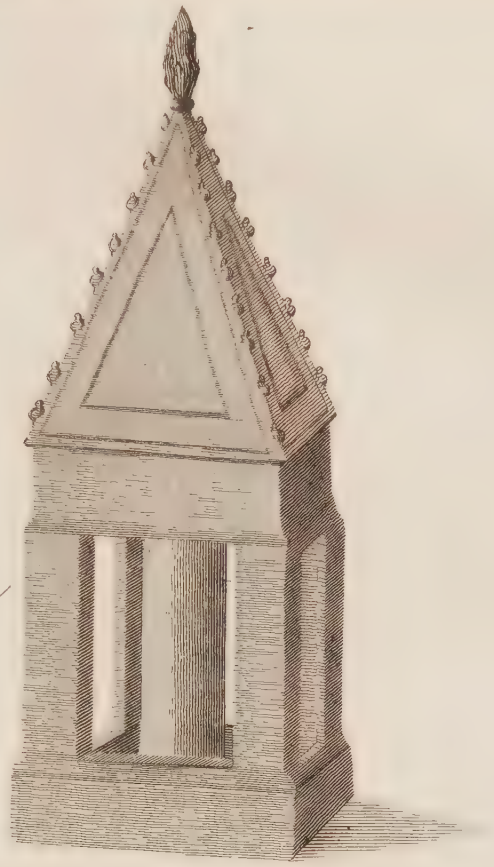
[*h*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 380.

[*i*] Ibid. vol. I. p. 35.

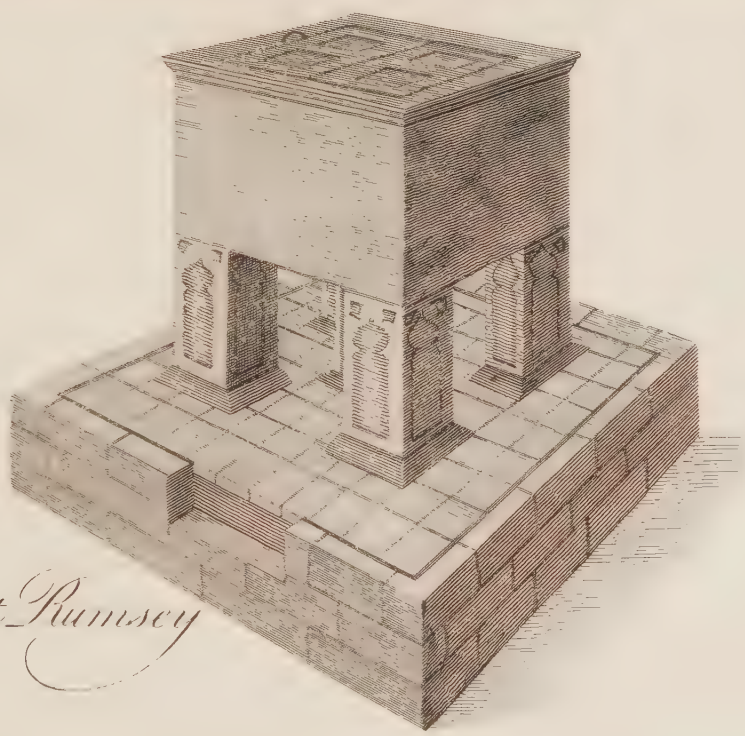
[*k*] Newcourt, vol. I. p. 364.

[*l*] Plate XII.

It



Font at Offham



Font at Rumsey

It is exhibited as conſtructed upon an elevated platform of ſtone, paved with tiles, of the height of above fifteen inches. The depth of the font is three feet ſix inches, the width two feet ten inches, and conſequently it is large enough to have admitted of the total immerſion of an infant. There is at the bottom a perforation for drawing off the water, and Mr. Latham thinks the cover may not be of antient date. There appears, as Mr. John Latham writes, to be a ſimilitude in the ſtyle of the arches on the font, and in that of ſome arches on the walls of the church: but this might have happened, had the font been originally erected in the demoliſhed pariſh church, and removed into the nave of the abbey after it became parochial. Children are at preſent baptized in the veſtry, in conſequence of the font being in a very cold and damp ſituation.

William Upton, abbot of Eveſham, who died Auguſt 11, 1483, is noticed by Dr. Naſh [*m*] to have been buried in his church below the baptiſtery and altar *(infra baptiſterium et altare)*. That the font here mentioned was uſed by the inhabitants of the town before the building of two pariſh churches within the abbey precincts [*n*], is a ſuppoſition moſt probable.

Mr. Latham judged the font in Offam church to have been of one ſtone, but he ſays it might have been caſed with plaſter to give it that appearance. The cover was of wood painted. He was but juſt in time to preſerve a view of it; for, ſince he was at Offam, the font fell, and was broken to pieces by the accident.

The very antient font found by Mr. Groſe at New Minſter, in Northumberland [*o*], and ſuppoſed to have belonged

[*m*] Collections for Worceſterſhire, vol. I. p. 400.
[*n*] Leland, Itin. vol. IV. part II. fol. 168 b.
[*o*] Gent. Mag. vol. XLV. p. 13.

to that Ciſtercian abbey, as likewiſe the grant of a biſhop of Coventry to the abbey of Haghmon, in Shropſhire, to baptize as well Jews as infants [*p*], would, I imagine, confirm rather than weaken my general poſitions, were we better acquainted with the hiſtories of thoſe religious houſes. Of the Benedictine monks the Ciſtercians were the moſt rigid, and though the Auſtin canons were under a far leſs ſevere rule of diſcipline, being allowed to converſe much in the world, yet women were not on any account permitted to paſs beyond the hall appropriated to ſtrangers, whatever might be their age, condition, or affinity to the canons [*q*]: nor indeed were the wives and children of domeſtics ſuffered to reſide within any conventual encloſure. The families, therefore, of the ſervants of Haghmon abbey lived probably in a hamlet in its vicinage, which, from its being at ſome diſtance from the pariſh church, might occaſion the grant of this indulgence. It is ſtyled a privilege, and notwithſtanding the eccleſiaſtical ſacraments and parochial offices were to be adminiſtered to them by one of the canons, it is obſerved that he was a Sacriſtan, different from the Sacriſtan of the abbey.

[*p*] Archæologia, vol. X p. 208. The fourth canon of a council held in France about the year 615, prohibited baptizing in monaſteries. Dupin, vol. VI. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 55.

[*q*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. III. p. 685. Ordinationes et ſtatuta per Thomam Wolſey, &c. per ſingula monaſteria canonicorum regularium Sti. Auguſtini obſervanda. A. 1519.

Cap. V. De fœminis infra monaſterium non admittendis.

Item, ſtatuimus, quod nulli fœminæ cujuſcunque ætatis, propinquitatis aut conditionis extiterint, permittatur acceſſus in dormitorium, infirmariam, clauſtrum, aut canonicorum cellas ſeu cameras, vel alium locum privatum quemcunque, ſed duntaxat ad loca pro hoſpitibus deputata, &c.

A reaſon

A reaſon why the ruling members of the cathedrals were not ſolicitous to have baptiſm celebrated in their churches was, that they could not turn it to their advantage ; but as a profit accrued from the chriſm, which was then uſed in baptiſm, the miniſters of all churches and chapels which were baptiſmal, were enjoined to fetch it annually, and to pay the accuſtomed fee. It was, however, a ſubject of complaint, that many of the clergy were ſo œconomical, that they would make the holy oil laſt for two or three years, notwithſtanding a poſitive command, that what remained was to be burnt at the end of every year [*r*].

In aſſigning this motive for the diſuſe of baptiſm in cathedrals, I perceive I had not advanced a novel opinion. For when Mr. Carte did not concur in Mr. Gale's notion, that the font in Wincheſter cathedral was intended for that monaſtery, it was ' becauſe the monks did not ſeem to Mr. Carte to be intereſted in baptiſm in any ſort ; but, in burials to which the font had no relation.'

Fuller likewiſe [*s*] tells us that " Pierce Plowman (in his Paſſus 11.) maketh a witty wonder, why friers ſhould covet rather to confeſs and bury than to chriſten children; intimating it proceeded from covetouſneſſe, there being gain to be gotten by the one, none by the other. " And this," adds the Hiſtorian, in his quaint ſtyle, " was the age wherein convents got their beſt living by the dying ; which made them (contrary to all other people) moſt to worſhip the ſunne ſetting."

When the inhabitants of a diſtrict had their parochial altar in a cathedral, all divine offices were to be performed by the incumbent of the pariſh, and not by any officer belonging to

[*r*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. II p. 48 Statut. A. Peckham.
[*s*] Fuller's Hiſtory of the Holy War, Book II. c. 5.

the cathedral; and it may likewiſe be preſumed that the pariſhioners were always ſubject to the charge of providing the font, as well as other ſacred utenſils and neceſſary veſtments. This I conclude from a ſtatute of Saliſbury cathedral (anno 1259), which declares it to be the office of the treaſurer, at the expence of the cathedral, to repair the ornaments, and to furniſh bread, wine, water, and candles, for the ſeveral altars in the church, the parochial altar excepted [*t*].

The pariſhioners of St. Faith in London had their place of worſhip in the undercroft of St. Paul's cathedral, in which, and not in the nave, the baptiſmal font would be fixed; nor could a font be wanted for the families of the members of the cathedral, very great precaution being taken to prevent the reſidence of women in its precincts. The minor canons were prohibited letting their houſes or any apartments in them, unleſs to thoſe of the church who wore a clerical habit; women were not to enter the doors of the canons' houſes; and if any ground of ſuſpicion was given by their ſupping or dining with the canons, the canons were to ſubmit to an admonition [*u*]. The being married, it ſhould ſeem, was not a recommendation to an inferior office, and it certainly diſqualified a man to be a verger. In the ſtatute concerning vergers, there are expreſſions more ſuitable to a comedy or a farce than to an ordinance compoſed by venerable divines, who held matrimony to be a Chriſtian ſacrament. It declares an uxorious life to be a ſtate buſy and turbulent, in which the

[*t*] Wilkins, Concil. vol. I. p 742, A. 1259. Conſtit. et Statut. Eccleſ. Sariſbur.

Theſaurarii officium eſt, ornamenta etiam eccleſiæ ſuis expenſis reficere, panem, vinum, aquam, et candelas ſingulis altaribus eccleſiæ, excepto parochiali, adminiſtrare.

[*u*] Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's. Appendix, p. 252. 261.

huſband,

huſband, as he ought, ſhould ſtudy to pleaſe his wife as his miſtreſs. And as their vergers, diſtracted by matrimonial anxieties, might neglect their duty in the church, or, compelled by neceſſity (for no man can ſerve well two maſters), deſert their office, it was concluded and declared by the dean, the canons aſſenting, that bachelors only ſhould be vergers; and that if a married man ſhould be preſented to the dean by the treaſurer, on mention of the name of the wife, he ſhould be immediately rejected [*w*].

As the monks of Chriſt church, Canterbury, were Benedictines, it is needleſs to ſhew that a greater indulgence in this reſpect would not be allowed to them; and that conſequently a font could not be wanted for the reſiants in their precinct. It cannot therefore be matter of ſurprize that Mr. Somner was not able to trace the veſtige of a font whilſt the priory ſubſiſted; nor, as I apprehend, will it be difficult to ſuggeſt a very probable reaſon for there not being any font conſtructed during the reign of Elizabeth; and it will equally apply to Peterborough cathedral, in which, according to Mr. Carte, there was a delay in providing one. This reaſon may be deduced from the forcible but impolitic and unjuſt injunction of her majeſty, for what ſhe termed the better go-

[*w*] Dugdale's Hiſt. of St. Paul's, p. 243. De virgiferis. Præterea quia res uxoria eſt ſæpenumero res negotioſa et turbulenta, atque mariti uxori, ut dominæ ſuæ oporteat ſtudeant, virgiferi noſtri matrimoniali ſolicitudine diſtracti in eccleſia officium ſuum negligant, aut neceſſitate coacti (quia duobus dominis nemo bene ſervire poſſet) deſerant; idcirco ſtatutum eſt a domino decano, capitulo conſentiente, et concluſum, ut deinceps in eccleſia S. Pauli non ſint ullo modo virgiferi, niſi tales qui ſine uxoribus cœlibes vitam ducant, et continentiam teneant; quod ſi talis a Theſaurario præſentetur decano qui uxorem habet, audito uxoris nomine, ſtatim repellatur.

vernment

vernment of cathedrals. It was dated Auguſt 9, 1561, and the following extract will warrant my obſervation.

'The queen underſtanding of late, that within the houſes hereof, as well the chief governours, as the prebendaries, ſtudents and members thereof being married, do keep particular houſeholds, with their wives, children, and nurſes, whereof no ſmall offence groweth—has thought meete to provide remedie therein, leſt by ſufferance thereof, the reſt of the colleges, eſpecially ſuch as be repleniſhed with young ſtudents, as the very rooms and buildings be not anſwerable for ſuch families of women and young children—therefore expreſsly willeth and commandeth, that no manner of perſon being either the head or member of any college or cathedral church within the realm, ſhall from the time of the notification hereof, be permitted to have within the precinct of the ſaid college his wife or other woman, to abide and dwell in the ſame, or to frequent or haunt any lodging within the ſame college, upon pain, that whoſoever ſhall do to the contrary, ſhall forfeit all eccleſiaſtical promotions in any cathedral or collegiate church within this realm [*x*].'

Archbiſhop Parker was not an unlikely perſon to have given a ſuitable font to his cathedral, had he judged it expedient. But if, when her majeſty honoured the cathedral with her preſence, ſhe had ſeen ſuch a font, and on enquiring what occaſion there could be for it in that church, had been anſwered it was for baptizing the ſons and daughters of the dean and prebendaries, and their wives (an appellation ſhe would not allow to be due to Mrs. Parker), it is probable ſhe might again have uttered ſuch bitter expreſſions in diſparagement of matrimony, as his Grace would with horror have heard and bewailed coming from her mild nature.

[*x*] Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 107.

Of the fixed font preſented by biſhop Warner to Canterbury cathedral, a rare piece of novelty, as Somner terms it, he gives no other account, than that it was ſuch a one, as whether it were more curious or coſtly, he was not able, if worthy, to judge; but both ways (he was ſure) ſo excellent, that the author cannot but be famous for it whilſt the church continues graced with it. There is, however, an engraving of it in the quarto edition of his Antiquities; and Mr. Goſtling's Walk is alſo decorated with an engraving, but in both plates the South ſide of the font is exhibited. In Cantuaria Sacra, as Mr. Carte has remarked, there is not any cut, nor any mention of its form and ornaments.

To ſupply the defect, I have procured from a friend at Canterbury, the under-written deſcription, which, I am perſuaded, is correct.

On the top of the font is the figure of our Saviour with a child in his arms, and two children clinging round his feet; beneath are the words "Suffer little children to come unto me," &c.

Under our Saviour, in an octagon, are four figures; St. John, St. James minor, St. Bartholomew, St. Peter. Between theſe figures are ſhields of arms—the king's, the archbiſhop's, thoſe of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, and of the ſee of Rocheſter; the laſt empaling the paternal coat of biſhop Warner. Beneath the four figures, "Go ye teach all nations," &c.; and below, eight figures; Matthias, Thomas, Andrew, Simon, Philip, Matthew, James major, Judas, his brother.

In nic[illegible]es of a pedeſtal which ſupports the font are the four evangeliſts with their accuſtomed ſymbols. There are the heads of angels, with wings gilt round the font, and under the cover the figure of the dove.

We

We are informed by Mr. Battely [*y*] that this fair ornament of the church had not been erected many years before the pious and honourable benefactor, and Mr. Somner alſo ſaw it defaced and *pulled down* by ſacrilegious hands in the time of the great rebellion. But that as ſoon as the church and ſtate were delivered from thoſe diſmal confuſions, anno 1660, the ſame generous and worthy biſhop Warner cauſed *a new font, more coſtly and beautiful than the former*, to be ſet up at his own charges. And in biſhop Kennet's Life of Somner, prefixed to his Treatiſe on Gavelkind, is this paſſage, at p. 111. "When the beautiful font in the nave of Canterbury cathedral (built by the Right Rev. John Warner, biſhop of Rocheſter, late prebendary of Canterbury, and conſecrated by John lord biſhop of Oxon. 1636) was *pulled down, and the materials carried away by the rabble*, he enquired with great diligence for all the ſcattered pieces, bought them up at his own charge, kept them ſafe till the king's return, and then delivered them to that worthy biſhop, who *re-edified his font and made it a greater beauty of holineſs; giving to Mr. Somner the juſt honour to have a daughter of his own firſt baptized in it.*"

But, notwithſtanding theſe averments of Biſhop Warner's having, after the year 1660, ſet up a new font more coſtly and beautiful in the place of the font he had preſented to the cathedral in 1636, I am ſomewhat inclined to believe that there was a very ſmall diſparity in the embelliſhments of what are here ſtyled two fonts; and that in fact it was rather a repair than a renewal of the original font [*z*]. This notion is founded

[*y*] Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 100. Addition ſigned N. B.

[*z*] On examining the Prelates' will, I noticed the underwritten clauſe concerning this donation.

"Whereas I formerly gave, for the making and remaking of a font in the cathedral church of Chriſt, in Canterbury, five hundred pounds, I now further give unto

founded on the deſcription of the font of 1636 by a contemporary writer, and on his report of the miſchief (though he would have thought *good deed* a more proper expreſſion) done to this elegant piece of ſculpture. Richard Culmer's 'Dean and Chapter Newes from Canterbury' is my authority; and, in page 3 of his ſon William's edition of that malignant and ſcurrilous book, is this paſſage.

"In that cathedrall there hath been lately erected a ſuperſtitious font with three aſcents to it, paled about with high guild and painted iron bars, having under the cover of it a carved image of the Holy Ghoſt in the forme of a dove[*a*], and round about are placed carved images of the twelve apoſtles, and foure evangeliſts, and of angels, and over it a carved image of Chriſt." And to the deſcription of the preſent font with which my friend favoured me, it ought to have been added, that there are three ſteps of aſcent to it, as delineated in the plates in Somner's Antiquities, and Mr. Goſtling's Walk; and, while the font ſtood in the nave of the cathedral, it was encompaſſed with iron rails, which, to the beſt of my recollection were partly gilt.

The injury which the font ſuſtained is thus triumphantly diſplayed by the ſame Gothic Reformer at p. 17.

"On their Candlemas day at night, 1641, thoſe conſecrated images about their new cathedral font were all demoliſhed and taken away they knew not how or by whom, but a few days after ſome of thoſe idols were found in that ca-

unto the ſame body five hundred pounds to be beſtowed in books for the late erected library." Would five hundred pounds have been adequate to the expence of conſtructing two fonts ſo elegant and coſtly? Biſhop Warner's bequeſt to the library is not mentioned in "Cantuaria Sacra."

[*a*] In the ſpecimen of the ſacrilegious outrages committed in the pariſh churches of Cambridge, anno Domini 1643, under the church of St. Giles is this note——"We brake a dove from the high loft of the font, and a *holy-water font* at the porch door."

thedrall in a pulpit [*b*] ; and when the king was laſt there, in his journey with the queen to Dover, the prelates (meaning the dean and prebendaries) carried him to the font, and ſhewed him the lamentable condition and ruin of their new conſecrated font, and where thoſe images had ſtood about it. And indeed they could better endure the late felling of about three hundred epiſcopal and cathedrall oakes in the yeare for their own guine than they could endure the pulling down of thoſe eighteen idols of wood and ſtone."

From the expreſſions uſed by this outrageous iconoclaſt, it ſhould ſeem that the figures only were pulled down, becauſe deemed ſuperſtitious idols; and that the other parts of the font might be but little, if at all defaced. Hence we may farther collect how ſoon Mr. Somner might obtain information where ſeveral of the figures were concealed, of which he was certainly ſo fortunate as to get poſſeſſion, nor can it therefore be thought a very improbable ſurmiſe, that the replacing of theſe figures, and the repairing of the other decorations of the font might be the chief of the work done ſubſequent to the year 1660. The ſingle ſmall alteration in the ornaments was, as I apprehend, the emblazoning of the arms of the ſee of Rocheſter with the family coat of Warner, the donor not being biſhop of that dioceſe when he preſented the font.

According to Dr. Kennett, a *daughter* of Mr. Somner, in juſt honour to her parent, was by biſhop Warner's permiſſion

[*b*] Moſt probably the pulpit in the ſermon-houſe, becauſe he ſarcaſtically adds, "where a ſermon had not been preached near twenty years before," being however ſtudious to conceal from his readers, that during thoſe years ſermons had been regularly preached in the choir. For reaſons mentioned by Mr. Goſtling (Walk, p. 198.), it was judged expedient that the practice ſhould be diſcontinued of the congregation's moving after prayers from the choir to the ſermon-houſe, which before the Reformation had been the chapter-houſe of the prior and the convent.

firſt baptized in the font; and under this notion, as ſuppoſing it to be well founded, Mr. Goſtling properly obſerved, that the prelate did not long delay his ſecond donation, it appearing by the church regiſter, that Barbara, the daughter of Mr. William Somner, was baptized September 11, 1660. There is, however, in the regiſter, another entry of a later date, which expreſsly mentions, that "Sophia, daughter of Dr. John Aucher, a prebendary of this church, and Suſanna his wife, was the firſt that was baptized in the new font the 8th day of October 1663." And the entry immediately preceding notices, that "on Auguſt 16, 1663, Francis, *ſon* of William Somner, auditor of this church, and Barbara his wife, was baptized."

How then are we to account for the ſuggeſtion of biſhop Kennett, which we may fairly conclude to have been founded on a traditionary anecdote from which ſuch an error might eaſily ariſe? Now it is advanced by him that a *daughter* of Mr. Somner was firſt baptized in the font, and the regiſter proves that his *daughter* Barbara was baptized in September 1660. And my inference is, that ſhe might be the child firſt baptized in or at the font after the re-eſtabliſhmemt of the dean and chapter in conſequence of the king's reſtoration. Suppoſing this to be a ſatisfactory ſolution of the difficulty, it will corroborate my conjecture, that though the font was in lamentable condition and ruin by the pulling down of the images, and perhaps from other abuſes, the baſin might be yet remaining, and in a condition to be applied to its original purpoſe.

It has not eſcaped my attention, that, in the entry of the baptiſm of Dr. Aucher's daughter, it is called a new font. But many inſtances might be cited from the hiſtories of ſacred ſtructures, in which the epithet *new* is uſed to denote only a

complete repair, with a few alterations and additional embelliſhments [c]. And, in order to leſſen if not fully obviate the objection, it cannot be impertinent to remark, that, had it been an entirely new font, a ſacred appropriation of it would have been judged requiſite. The font of 1636 was certainly conſecrated; of a conſecration in 1663 there is no evidence.

This font no longer graces the nave of Canterbury cathedral; for, on new paving the nave, it was imagined to be, if not a cumbrous ornament, at leaſt not a deſirable object in its priſtine ſituation, and was therefore, by order of chapter, placed in the rotunda, reſpecting which the opinions of Mr. Goſtling and myſelf did not coincide. As I am informed, the edifice is as well adapted for the reception of the font as if it had been deſignedly erected for it. And doubtleſs a Baptiſtery is now as proper a denomination as in the days of the Benedictines was—a Lavatory.

Conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis.

Within this dome an uſage not the ſame,
Hath for it lately wrought a change of name.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful

Wilmington,
Dec. 3, 1792. and obliged ſervant,

S. DENNE.

[c] See Memorials of Rocheſter Cathedral, publiſhed with Cuſtumale Roffenſe, p. 169.

Ad-

Additions to Mr. Denne's *Obſervations on Fonts.*

Read March 7, 1793.

SINCE I tranſmitted my miſcellaneous obſervations on fonts, I have been favoured with a letter from Mr. Clarke, in which there are ſome paſſages ſo pertinent to the ſubject, as to make it adviſable for me to communicate them to the Society. He is the gentleman very converſant in ancient rituals, whom I mentioned as having acquainted me that the ſame vaſe for Holy water was ſometimes called *Fons* ; and as before he had apprized me of this circumſtance, I could only by implication collect from conſtitutions provincial and ſynodical that this was one meaning of that word, I deſired him to let me know where he had met with this uſe of it. Having likewiſe noticed in a paper written by him, and inſerted in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LVII. p. 661, that fonts were to be ſurrounded with a lattice ; I expreſſed a wiſh to learn his authority, no ſuch direction occurring in the conſtitution of archbiſhop Edmund, which he had juſt before cited. His ſatisfactory anſwers to both my queſtions are as follow :

" It was no ſmall while before I could recollect my authority for aſſerting the font ſhould be ſurrounded with a lattice. However, upon recurring to the original of the paper, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LVII. which was only an abridgement to ſuit the convenience of Mr. Urban, I was referred to the Roman ritual. ' Baptiſterium ſit

' decente

'decente loco et forma, materiaque ſolida, et quæ aquam 'bene contineat, decenter ornatum, et *cancellis circumſeptum*, 'ſera et clave munitum atque obſcritum, ut pulvis vel aliæ 'ſordes intro non penetrent, in eoque ubi commode fieri po-'teſt depingatur imago Sancti Johannis Chriſtum bapti-'zantis [*a*].'

"In the Magazine I alſo hinted that immerſion is one cauſe of the largeneſs of fonts; another I had in view, and which I will preſent from the ſame ritual—'Aqua vero ſo-'lemnis baptiſmi ſit eo anno benedicta in ſabbato Paſchatis, 'vel ſabbato Pentecoſtes, *quæ in fonte munda nitida, et pura dili-'genter conſervetur*, et hæc quando nova benedicenda eſt in 'eccleſia vel potius baptiſterii ſacrarium effundatur.' (Tit. de materia Baptiſmi.)

'Si vero corrupta fuerit, aut effluxerit, aut quovis modo 'defecerit, parochus in fontem bene mundatum ac nitidum 'recentem aquam infundat, eamque benedicat,' &c.(Ibid).

"This is very different from the time of archbiſhop Edmund's conſtitutions, and I was induced to think, that in order to contain a quantity of water for the baptiſms occurring between Whitſontide and the following Eaſter, was one cauſe of the vaſt capacity in fonts. Whether this will bear, I leave to your determination; and I paſſed it by, as thinking Edmund's authority of the greater value in this country in particular, and becauſe I judged that the rubrics of the Miſſals, &c. publiſhed by authority of the council of Trent, might lead into anachroniſms, a reformation and alteration of ceremonials having been made by that council.

'The Benitier, a Stoup, having ſucceded the fountains placed antiently at the doors of the churches, as mentioned

[*a*] Rituale Romanum Antverpiæ ex officina Plantiniana, 1659. De Sacramento Baptiſmi. Titulo de tempore et loco adminiſtrandi baptiſmum.

by

by Euſebius, Paulinus, &c. came, when afterwards fixed, alſo to be known by that name. In a note to my account ſent you concerning ſtone ſeats, &c. you will find an example from the cathedral at Rouen, quoted from Moleon.

" You judged perfectly right in ſuppoſing I got the appellation *fons* for the Holy water baſin from an ancient ritual. It was furniſhed by the Pontifical, where among other directions for the dedication of a church it is ordered. ' Fontes ' eccleſiæ in quibus conſervatur aqua benedicta vacui ſint et ' bene mundi.' (Pont. Rom. Pariſiis, 1683, 359).

" Grancola, in his ' Ancien Sacramentaire de l'Egliſe,' has written above 105 pages of the ceremonies of baptiſm, and is in that part relative to baptiſteries particular and curious.

" Ciampini, in his ' Vetera Monumenta,' has a chapter with this title, ' Expoſitio duorum ſarcophagorum ſacrum baptiſmatis ritum indicantium, quorum occaſione veterum Baptiſmalium Fontium, præſertim Lateranenſis et Piſarum oſtenditur forma.' Ciampini has not any figure correſponding in ſhape with the font at Rotherfield Grays. Thoſe he terms ſarcophagi are in the form of flat inverted bells. He enters tediouſly into the explanation of a male and female figure in one of them; and the modes and cauſes of baptiſm by immerſion and aſperſion. The font at Rotherfield is certainly Gothic from the pillars at its corners, though in other reſpects it correſponds but little with that mode of architecture.

" In the eleventh tome of De Vert is a plate of a baptiſm in a large veſſel or tub (*cuve*), copied from a drawing in a very ancient MS. of St. Gregory Nazienzen on baptiſm in the king's library. The miniſter of baptiſm is an apoſtolic figure, who is in the act of pronouncing the form. The godfather, *patrimus*, (*parrain*,) ſtands ready with a cloth or veſtment, with a countenance of much devotion to receive the catechumen from

from the baptiſtery. The plate is alſo accompanied with ſome explanations by this learned ritualiſt; 'vir ad eruendam et 'aſſerendam ſimplicem ac nudam rituum eccleſiaſticorum 'veritatem natus.'

'P. S. *Labrum* [*b*], *Amula*, *Situla*, *Aquimanile*, or *Aquamale*, and *Malluvium*, are ſo many names of the ſtoup for Holy water, mentioned in the xxi chapter of Durant's Firſt Book of the Rites of the Church." CHARLES CLARKE.

In Cuſtumale Roffenſe, p. 30. cap. de famulis eccleſiæ, quid facere debeant, there is a paſſage in which *fontes* muſt ſignify the vaſes for Holy water.

'Cum proceſſio ſit ad crucem in nave eccleſiæ ponent ante crucifixum cereum accenſum, et in nocte ad *fontes candelam*.

Though Dugdale in his hiſtory has not taken any notice of a font, it appears from a deed cited in Newcourt's Repertorium (vol. II. p. 212.) that there had been a font in St. Paul's cathedral. The inſtrument alluded to is in the account of Dengy pariſh, in Eſſex, in which was a portion of tithes called Bacon's Portion; and, on a controverſy between the rector and the poſſeſſor of thoſe tithes, biſhop Bonner ordained by compoſition, anno 1541, that the rector ſhould pay to the portionary and his ſucceſſors a yearly penſion of four pounds and eight ſhillings, half of it on the 16th day after the feaſt of St. Mark, and the other half part at the ſame interval after Michaelmas; and that the payment ſhould be made between one and four o'clock on *the font ſtone*, in the nave of the cathedral church of St. Paul. Suppoſing this font ſtone not to mean the ſtone upon which a font might be formerly placed, but the font itſelf, it will however come within the ſcope and purport of my ſurmiſe, becauſe the inhabitants

[*b*] See before, p. 131, note *s*.

of St. Faith's pariſh had their parochial altar in the cathedral; and after its being placed in the undercroft the ſame indulgence might not be allowed to them as was granted to the pariſhioners of St. Nicholas, Rocheſter, to conſtruct a new font; or, if they were favoured with this privilege, the old font might remain in the nave of St. Paul's, and anſwer no other uſe than what is ſtipulated in the deed. When biſhop Bonner decreed this groſs miſapplication of a conſecrated monument, he could hardly have had in his thoughts the incident of our Saviour's overthrowing in the temple the tables of the money-changers. S. D.

Jan. 24, 1793.

XVIII. *Memoir on Britiſh Naval Architecture.* *By* Ralph Willett, *Eſq. F. A. & R. SS.*

Read Feb. 14, 1793.

AN Engliſhman can hardly be ſuppoſed to want curioſity in whatever relates to naval architecture. To the preſent ſtate of it in his own country he owes all its preſent importance. In itſelf, it diſplays the higheſt exertions of human ſkill and ſcience ; in its conſequences, the moſt beneficial advantages to every other Society as well as his own, and unites mankind in one general participation of the benefits peculiar to every diſtant part of the world. It is therefore hoped that the preſent attempt, imperfect as it is, will be received with indulgence ; and perhaps excite ſome abler pen, guided by more ample materials, to do juſtice to the ſubject.

Beſides what I have been able to collect from our printed hiſtories, I was ſo fortunate as to purchaſe five large volumes of manuſcript accounts from the library of the earl of Oxford. They had been collected with much induſtry by Mr. Forteſcue, who was a commiſſioner of the navy during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second ; and they were preſented by Mr. Francis Forteſcue, his ſon, to Lawrence Hyde, earl of Rocheſter, and Preſident of the Council in that of William the Third. Three of the volumes appear to have been in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Conduit, Sir Iſaac Newton's nephew. All the five came into the hands of that great collector lord

Oxford, and at his death into Mr. Oſborne's, who bought his library. From Mr. Oſborne I bought them. I have alſo had ſome aſſiſtance from Mr. Hayward's own MS. book. Mr. Hayward was maſter-builder of Woolwich yard for a great many years, and died only about the year 1744, at the great age of eighty-ſeven years.

As I have derived conſiderable help from theſe MSS. I have thought it proper to mention this account of them, and how they came into my poſſeſſion.

The accounts of our navy are but few, until the reign of Henry the Eighth; but as the office of Admiral was eſtabliſhed ſo early as the reign of Edward the Firſt, and perhaps of John; and we find Fitz Allan appointed Admiral of England by Richard the Second; and Spelman hath given us a liſt of admirals from Henry the Third; we may infer that our princes had ſome ſhips of their own, beſides the occaſional ones furniſhed by the Cinque Ports, &c. The firſt inſtance I know of, and that a curious one, as it mentions cannon employed on-board a ſhip, occurs in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. VIII. p. 447. It is an order to Henry Somer, keeper of the private wardrobe in the Tower, to deliver to Mr. Loveney, treaſurer of queen Philippa, queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, who was then ſent by her uncle Henry the Fourth to her huſband, in the ſhip called the Queen's Hall, the following military ſtores: 11 guns, 40 *libras pulveris* pro gunnes, 40 *petras* pro gunnes, 40 tampons, 4 touches, 1 mallet, 2 fire-pans, 40 pavys, 24 bows, 40 ſheaves of arrows, pro ſtuffura ejuſdem navis, ordinata pro aula ejuſdem reginæ.

Henry the Fifth, at his firſt invaſion of France, appears to have had two large and beautiful ſhips of his own, with pur-

ple ſails, the one called the King's Chamber, the other his Hall.

Edward the Fourth had ſeveral ſhips of his own, which he employed ſometimes in war, and often for trade, in which he dealt largely. It appears from Canning's monument in Redclift church at Briſtol, that he, at one time, furniſhed this prince with 2470 tons of ſhipping to purchaſe his peace, among which were the Mary and John of 900 tons, and the Mary Radcliffe of 500 tons, being two of the largeſt ſhips belonging to any Engliſhman in that early period that I know of, though many of that ſize, and larger, are to be found amongſt the Genoeſe and Venetians at that time.

In 1481 he iſſued the following order: 'Rex dilecto ſibi Richardo Symondes, magiſtro *navis* noſtræ vocatæ *Le Grace de Dieu*, ſalutem.

"Cum nos quandam armatam potentiam ad proficiſcendum ſupra mare in reſiſtentiam illius infidelis et antiqui inimici noſtri regis *Scotorum* ordinavimus, aſſignavimus te ad tot marinarios quot pro gubernatione et conductione navis predictæ neceſſarii fuerint et opportuni, *ubicunque* inveniri *poterunt, tam infra libertates quam extra*, areſtandum et capiendum, et eos in nave prædicta, nobis ad vadia noſtra deſervituros, ponendum et poni faciendum.

"Conſimiles literæ regis patentes diriguntur perſonis ſubſcriptis ſub eadem data, viz. Roberto Michelſon magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ Le Henry, Richardo Hubbard magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ Le Anthony; Johanni Stevens magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ le Great Portingale; Joanni Hamond magiſtro navis *regis* le Spagnard; Waltero Cokkee magiſtro navis *regis* vocatæ le Henry Aſhe; and to five other commanders, who had not ſhipps belonging to the king, but ſeem to have been hired". Rymer, vol. XII. p. 139. N. B. We find that preſſing

preſſing of *ſeamen* for the king's ſervice was practiſed at this time, perhaps even earlier.

It appears that our ſhips were now built larger; for in the earlier ſtages of them I am apt to ſuſpect they were much ſmaller, and even conſiſted, for the moſt part, of ſingle-decked veſſels, with one maſt only. In the famous Armada of Edward the Third, though it conſiſted of 1100 veſſels, the men on-board them were only 11,166; very little more than ten men per veſſel; and though, in the proportion of thoſe furniſhed by London, we find them a little bigger, they do not exceed twenty-ſix men per veſſel even in that claſs.

It is therefore to the reign of Henry the Eighth that we muſt look for the eſtabliſhment of a regular navy. Before his reign, ſhips were hired occaſionally from the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Hanſe towns, and other trading people. Theſe, with the others, ſupplied by the Cinque Ports, formed the ſtrength of our Engliſh fleets. As ſoon as the ſervice was performed for which they were hired, they were diſmiſſed.

Henry, aware of the inconveniency of ſuddenly collecting ſuch a ſea force as his frequent wars on the continent required, reſolved to form ſuch a permanent ſtrength at ſea, as his political views, and the growing ſtate of trade, at that time ſo mu h increaſed by the diſcoveries of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and the enlarged communications with our neighbours on the continent, ſeemed to make neceſſary.

The recent introduction of cannon on-board ſhips of war, had alſo made it neceſſary that the ſize of them ſhould be enlarged.

And though there were ſome few at that time employed in the buſineſſes of commerce that were pretty conſiderable, as we ſee in the caſe of thoſe belonging to Canning, the number of them was ſmall, and their general ſize made them very in-

competent to the purpoſes of war in the manner it began to be carried on.

To execute this plan, Henry eſtabliſhed building-yards at Woolwich, Deptford, and Chatham. He was at firſt obliged to hire foreign artificers, as we find by a curious report made to James the Firſt in the year 1618, in anſwer to a commiſſion iſſued by that prince to his ſeveral maſter-builders. The report is as followeth:

"In former times our kings have enlarged their dominions rather by land than ſea forces, whereat even ſtrangers have marvelled, conſidering the many advantages of a navy; but ſince the change of *weapons* and *fight*, Henry the Eighth making uſe of *Italian ſhipwrights*, and encouraging his own people to build ſtrong ſhips of war to carry great ordnance, by that means eſtabliſhed a puiſſant navy, which in the end of his reign conſiſted of ſeventy veſſels, whereof thirty were ſhips of burthen; and contained in all 10,550 tons, and two galleys: the reſt were ſmall barks and row barges from eighty tons downwards to fifteen tons, which ſerved in rivers, and for landing of men. Edward the Sixth in the ſixth year of his reign had but fifty-three ſhips, containing in all 11005 tons, with 7995 men, whereof only twenty eight veſſels were above eighty tons each. Queen Mary had but forty-ſix of all ſorts." All this from the report.

Though we are not acquainted with all the particular ſhips that formed the navy of Henry the Eighth, we know that amongſt them were two very large ones, viz. the Regent and the Harry Grace de Dieu; the former being burnt in 1412, in an engagement with the French, occaſioned Henry to build the latter. However, if we conſider the ſhips that formed the navy in the firſt year of Edward the Sixth as the navy left by his father, which I think we fairly may do, we ſhall be ſurprized

prized at the ſtate to which he had raiſed it. Our worthy member Mr. Topham having already given us that liſt, makes it unneceſſary to repeat mine. I only beg leave to obſerve, as it gives weight to my own MS. account of it, that my own account ſtates it at 11,005 tons, and that given by Mr. Topham at 11,748 tons. As mine is taken in the ſixth year of Edward, the little difference may be explained by the decay of ſome of thoſe left by Henry, and not replaced in the pacific minority of Edward, if they ever were till the time of Elizabeth; for we find a more conſiderable decline in that of queen Mary.

Mr. Topham hath noticed a curious indenture that paſſed between Henry the Eighth and the lord Howard in the year 1512; but as he hath not given it at length, and it may be well conſidered as the baſis of many of the regulations that have taken place ſince in our navy, and contains a reſpectable number of ſhips that conſtituted the fleet, it may be worth while to introduce it at length here.

"Henry VIII. anno regni tertio, anno Dom. 1512.

"Indentura inter Dominum regem, et Edwardum Howard, capitaneum generalem armatæ ſuper mare, witneſſeth that the ſaid ſir Edward is retained towards our ſaid ſovereign Lord, to be his admiral chief and general captain of the army which his highneſs hath propoſed and ordained, and now ſetteth to the ſea, for the ſafeguard and ſure paſſage of his ſubjects, friends, allies, and confederates.

"And the ſaid Admiral ſhall have under him, in the ſaid ſervice, three thouſand men harneſſed and arrayed for the warfare, himſelf accounted in the ſame number, over and above ſeven hundred ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners that ſhall be in the *king's* ſhip, the Regent, a thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſhall be ſoldiers, twelve hundred and thirty-three ſhall be mariners and gunners.

"And

" And the admiral promiſeth and bindeth himſelf to our ſaid ſovereign Lord by theſe preſents to do unto his highneſs ſuch ſervice of war upon the ſea, with the ſaid army and navy that he ſhall have under him, as by the king's own miſſion made to him for the ſame, under his great ſeal, certain inſtructions ſigned with our ſaid ſovereign lord's hands to theſe inſtruments attached, and by theſe preſents, he is committed, deputed, and ordered to do ; and as to ſuch a navy and army in ſuch caſe it doth belong and appertain, during our ſaid ſovereign Lord's pleaſure.

" And the ſaid admiral ſhall have, for maintaining himſelf, and his diets and rewards *daily*, during the ſaid voyage *ten ſhillings*.

" And for every of the ſaid captains, for their diets, wages, and rewards, daily during the ſaid kruſe, *eighteen pence*, except they be of the king's *ſperys*, which ſhall be contented with their ordinary wages.

" And for every ſoldier, mariner, aud gunner, he ſhall have every month during the ſaid voyage, accounting *twenty-eight daies* for the *month*, *five ſhillings* for his wages, and *five ſhillings* for his victuals, without any thing elſe demanded for wages or *victuals*, ſaving that they ſhall have certain *dead ſhares*, as hereafter doth enſue, of all which wages, rewards, and victual-money the ſaid admiral ſhall be paid in manner and form following : He ſhall before he and his retinue enter into the ſhips, make their mouſtres before ſuch commiſſioners as ſhall pleaſe our ſaid ſovereign Lord to depute and appoint ; and immediately after ſuch mouſtres be made, he ſhall receive of our ſovereign Lord, by the hands of ſuch as his Grace ſhall appoint for himſelf, the ſaid captains, ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners, wages, *rewards*, and victual-money, after the rate before rehearſed for three months then next enſuing, accounting the month as above.

" And

"And at the ſame time he ſhall receive for the coſt of every captain and ſoldier *four ſhillings*; and for the coſt of every mariner and gunner *twenty pence*; and at the end of the ſaid three months, when the ſaid admiral ſhall with his ſaid navy and retinue reſort to the port of Southampton, and then and there revictual himſelf, and the ſaid navy and army, and retinue, he ſhall make his mouſtres before ſuch commiſſioners as it ſhall pleaſe his Grace the king therefore to appoint within *bord*; and after the ſaid mouſtres ſo made, he ſhall, for himſelf, the ſaid captains, ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners, receive of our ſaid ſovereign Lord, by the hands of ſuch as his Grace ſhall appoint, new wages and victual-money after the rate before rehearſed for the ſaid three months next enſuing; and ſo from three months to three months continually during the ſaid time, the ſaid admiral ſhall have alſo for himſelf, the ſaid captains, ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners afore the beſtowing their bags, baggages, and victuals; and for the exploit of the ſaid ſervice of war, at the coſt and charges of our ſaid ſovereign Lord, eighteen ſhips, whereof the names and portage hereafter enſue, in ſuch manner rigged, equipped, tackled, *decked*, and furniſhed with artillery, as to ſuch a voyage and ſervice for the honour of ſaid ſovereign Lord, and the weal of the journey, ſhall be thought to his Grace and his council neceſſary and expedient.

"The ſaid admiral ſhall have for his *dede ſhares* of the ſhips as hereafter enſueth; that is to ſay, for the Regent being of the portage of 1000 tons, fifty dede ſhares and four pillotys; alſo for the ſhip Mary Roſe, of the portage of 500 tons, thirty dede ſhares and a half; for the ſhip called the Peter Pomgranate, being of the portage of 400 tons, twenty-three dede ſhares and a half; for the ſhip called the Nicolas Rheda, being of the portage of 400 tons, twenty-three dede ſhares and a half;

a half; for the Mary and John, being of the portage of 260 tons, twenty-four dede ſhares and a half; for the Ann of Greenwich, being of the portage of 160 tons, twenty-four dede ſhares and a half: for the Mary George, being of the portage of 300 tons, twenty dede ſhares and a half; for the Dragon, of the portage of 100 tons, twenty-two dede ſhares and a half; for the Barbara, of the portage of 140 tons, twenty dede ſhares and a half; for the George of Falmouth, being of the *burthen* of 140 tons, twenty dede ſhares and a half; for the Nicholas of Hampton, of the portage of *ten ſcore* tons, twenty-two dede ſhares; for the Martinet of *ſeven ſcore* tons, twenty-two dede ſhares and a half; for the Genet, of the portage of 70 tons, twenty-two dede ſhares and a half; for the Chriſtopher Davy, of the portage of 160 tons, twenty-two dede ſhares and a half; for the Sabyon, of the portage of 120 tons, twenty dede ſhares.

"And for the victualling and refreſhing the ſaid ſhips with water, and other neceſſaries, the ſaid admiral ſhall, over and above the ſaid ſhips, have two *crayers*, the one being of *three ſcore* and fifty tons, wherein there ſhall be the maſter, twelve mariners, and one boy; and every of the ſaid maſters and mariners ſhall have for his wages five ſhillings, and for his victual-money five ſhillings for every month, accounting the month as above; and every of the ſaid two boies ſhall have for their months wages two ſhillings and ſix-pence, and for their victuals five ſhillings; and either of the ſaid maſters ſhall have three dede ſhares. And the other crayer ſhall have a maſter, ten mariners, and one boy, being of the burthen of 55 tons, with the ſame allowances.

"Alſo the ſaid ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners ſhall have of our ſovereign Lord *conduct-money*, that is to ſay, every of them for every day's journey from his houſe to the place where

where they ſhall be ſhipped, accounting *twelve miles* for the *day's journey*, ſix-pence, of which days they ſhall have evidence by their oaths before him or them that our ſaid ſovereign lord ſhall appoint and aſſign to pay them the ſaid wages and conduct-money.

" And for as much as our ſaid ſovereign Lord of his coſts and charges equipped the ſaid army and navy, the ſaid admiral ſhall therefore anſwer our ſaid Lord the *one half* of all manner of gains and winnings of the warre; that the ſame admiral, or his retinue, or any of them, ſhall fortune to him in ſaid voyage by land or water; all priſoners being *chieftains*, or having our ſaid ſovereign Lord's adverſaries power, and one ſhip *Royal*, being of the portage of 200 tons, or above, with the ordinance and apparel of every ſuch prize that ſhall fortune to be taken by them in the ſaid war, reſerved to our ſaid ſovereign Lord all *artillery* contained within any other ſhip or ſhips by them to be taken: In witneſs whereof, &c." Rymer, vol. XIII. p. 326. From this indenture it appears that the wages of ſeamen were only five ſhillings per month at this time, accounting twenty-eight days to the month, a rule obſerved in every ſubſequent increaſe of their wages, and ſtill practiſed. In the reign of James the Firſt I find them raiſed to ten ſhillings per month; whether by that prince, or his predeceſſor, I cannot aſcertain; but I ſhould rather ſuppoſe it was done by Elizabeth, as Charles the Firſt, in the firſt year of his reign, raiſed them to fifteen ſhillings, which he probably would not have done, if his father had ſo recently raiſed them before. From this indenture it likewiſe appears that the king employed veſſels uſed in trade by his ſubjects, and that his own were not conſiderable, at leaſt in number; for, except the Regent and the Mary Roſe, I take it the reſt were hired. The inſignificant ſize of our ſhips

belonging to the navy is apparent alſo from ſhips of 200 tons being called ſhips *royal*, and reſerved for the king, if captured.

But it is not only the ſize, but the form of building them, that renders theſe ſhips ſo contemptible in the opinion of perſons in the leaſt acquainted with naval architecture; for, if we could depend on the curious print given to us of the Harry Grace de Dieu, by Mr. Topham, it may fairly be pronounced that ſhe was unfit for every purpoſe of navigation, not only in the *ocean*, but in the leſs tempeſtuous waves of the Mediterranean, and hardly ſafe out of a harbour any where. Another print of a large ſhip, publiſhed by Mr. Allen, and ſuppoſed, with ſome reaſon, by Mr. Topham, to have been built in James's reign, is leſs uncouth, though ſtill an unpleaſant picture of the ſtate of ſhip-building at this time. If Mr. Topham's conjecture be right, we ſhall find that Mr. Pett, the builder of it, had wonderfully improved his ſkill in leſs than twenty-ſeven years; for, this ſhip, called the Prince, was launched in 1610*, and built by Pett. The Royal Sovereign, built

* "This year, 1610, the king builded a moſt goodly ſhip for warre, the keel "whereof was 114 feet in length, and the croſs beam was 44 feet in length; "ſhe will carry ſixty-four pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burden of 1400 "tons; this royal ſhip is double built, and is moſt ſumptuouſly adorned within "and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, "being in all reſpects the greateſt and goodlieſt ſhip that ever was builded in "England; and this glorious ſhip the king gave to his ſon Henry, Prince of "Wales; and the 24th of September the king, the queen, the Prince of Wales, "the Duke of York, and the lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went unto "Woolwich to ſee it launched, but becauſe of the narrowneſs of the dock, it "could not then be laueched; whereupon the prince came the next morning "by three of the clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it "after his own dignity, and called it the Prince." The great workmaſter in building this ſhip was Maſter Phinies Pett, gentleman, ſometime Maſter of Arts at Emanuel College, Cambridge.

It

built by the ſame man in 1637, gives us the firſt idea of any knowledge in the art; and is really an aſtoniſhing proof of the rapid progreſs it had made; for, ſhe continued a uſeful and valuable ſhip in our navy, until the beginning of the preſent century. She was in all the actions at ſea during the reigns of Charles the Second and William the Third, and did great ſervice in the fight off La Hogue in 1692. If, however, this print of Allen's doth refer to the ſhip called the Prince, it is to be hoped that thoſe built for trade, and we find very large ones, ſome even of 1000 and 1100 tons in our Eaſt-India trade at this time, were more equal to thoſe diſtant voyages. The moſt deſpicable opinion, however, may be admitted as to the form of theſe ſhips in the early periods of the art, and how unfit they were for carrying the guns allotted to them, when we are told that the Mary Roſe, a royal ſhip of 500 tons, was loſt at Spithead by the water ruſhing in at her *lower* ports, which were placed only *ſixteen* inches from the edge of the water.

In theſe early periods it may be curious to notice the ſeveral gradual improvements that took place. Sir Walter Rawleigh's account is very explicit as to many of them. In Birch's edition of his Memoirs, vol. II. p. 78, he ſays, "Whoever were the inventor, we find that every age had added ſomewhat to ſhips; and in my time the ſhape of our Engliſh ſhips hath been greatly bettered. It is not long ſince the ſtriking of the *top-maſts*, a wonderful eaſe to great ſhips, both at ſea, and in the harbour, hath been deviſed, together

It is not improbable that this was the ſhip, and not the Great Harry, of which Mr. Allen publiſhed the print from an old picture, and is a valuable intermediate ſtep between that ſhip and the Royal Sovereign, built by the ſame maſter, in the reign of Charles the Firſt. Vide Stow's Chronicle, p. 994.

He alſo mentions a merchant-ſhip, built the year before, in 1609, by the Eaſt-India Company, of 1200 tons.

with

with the *chain pump*, which taketh up twice as much water as the ordinary did (this hath been wonderfully augmented ſince) ; we have lately added the *bonnet* and the *drabler* (ſails) to the courſes ; we have added *ſtudding* ſails, (theſe are now added to by *ſtay-ſails*, *top-gallant-ſails*, *ſprit-ſails*, and *top-ſails)* ; the weighing anchors by the *capiſten* ; we have fallen into conſideration of the length of cables (they, from another manuſcript account in my poſſeſſion, were under eighty fathom), and by it we reſiſt the malice of the greateſt winds that can blow ; witneſs the Hollanders that were wont to ride before Dunkirk, with the wind at N. E. making a lee-ſhore in all weathers ; for, true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ſhip in all extremities ; and the reaſon is, that it makes ſo many bendings and waves, as the ſhip riding at that length is not able to ſtretch it, and nothing breaks that is not ſtretched : we carry our *ordnance* better than we were wont ; for, in King Henry the Eighth's time, and in his preſence at Portſmouth, the Mary Roſe, by a little ſway of the ſhip in *caſting* about, her ports being within *ſixteen* inches of the water, was overſet and loſt." He ſays again, in p. 95, " ſhe muſt carry out her ordnance in all weathers, provided that the loweſt tier of ordnance muſt lie *four feet* clear above the water, when all her loading is in." To proceed with Sir Walter's obſervations, in p. 99 ; ſpeaking of the ordnance, he ſays, " there is a great ſuperfluity, many ſhips having 40 pieces of braſs cannon, and only twenty gunners to manage them ;" and he thinks that twenty or thirty pieces of braſs cannon, demy-cannon, culverine, and demy-culverine, are very ſufficient.

Indeed, unleſs the proportion of the larger pieces was very ſmall, I do not ſee how the ſhip could bear them ; eſpecially as in p. 94 he recommends a ſhip of 650 tons in preference

to one of 1200 tons (this poſſibly refers to the Royal Charles, built at the very concluſion of James's reign); and ſays "ſhe can carry as large, though not ſo many, guns. He recommends a dock to be built at *Plymouth* (at that time not eſtabliſhed), and mentions among other improvements, that the ſecond deck ſhould be raiſed.

All this, and a great deal more, hath been done ſince his time; for, the cables, which then were about ſeventy-eight fathom, are now one hundred and twenty; and two cables an end are frequently made uſe of. The ſize of the anchors hath been increaſed: the ſheet-anchor of the firſt Royal Sovereign weighed only 4400lb, though ſhe was about the ſize of our preſent ſeventy-four gun ſhips, viz. about 1651 tons, whoſe ſheet-anchor weighs 6700lb.; the ſheet anchor of the Prince, burthen about 1230 tons, weighed only 3200lb.; that of our preſent ſixty gun ſhips about the ſame tonnage, viz. 1220 tons, weighs 5300lb. Another conſiderable improvement occurs in the maſts and yards of the two periods; for as we have with great judgement increaſed the weights of our anchors, we have, with no leſs knowledge, decreaſed the ſize of the maſts and yards. The main-maſt of the Prince was 102 feet long, the diameter of it three feet three inches; the main-maſt of our ſixty gun ſhips, as above, is only ninety-four feet ten inches long, diameter two feet ſeven inches $\frac{5}{8}$. I am not able to aſcertain the maſts and yards of the Royal Sovereign; it may be ſufficient to obſerve that the main-maſt of our preſent Royal George, burthen about 2300 tons, is only 117 feet long; that ſhe hath one deck more than the Prince, which probably takes off eight or nine feet of that length: the diameter of it is only three feet two inches $\frac{7}{8}$, not quite ſo thick as that of the Prince, although almoſt double her tonnage; the main-yard of the Prince was ninety-ſix

feet

feet long, diameter two feet; that of our ſixty gun ſhips main-yard is eighty-four feet two inches long; diameter one feet eight inches $\frac{5}{8}$. Any perſon acquainted with the importance of diminiſhing the weights above water of a ſhip as much as poſſible, will be ſenſible of this great improvement; as alſo of the reduction in the quarter galleries of our great ſhips. Thoſe in a ninety gun ſhip are now not larger than they uſed to be in our old forty gun ſhips; the poop-royal, in our preſent firſt-rates, is omitted, and that enormous weight aloft taken away; nothing is given to parade; the height between decks, at leaſt in the cabin part, is leſſened almoſt two feet.

That great ſeaman Sir Walter Raleigh early obſerved the great miſchief accruing to the ſervice by building in *private* yards, and recommends ſtrongly that no large ſhip ſhould be builded except in the king's yards; for that all ſuch ſhips did not endure, and this evil ſtill attends all ſuch ſhips as are built by contract.

If the conſtruction of the ſhips was ſo rude and imperfect at this time, the manner of fighting them doth not ſeem to have been much better; for, we find in the action in 1549, between the two great fleets of France and England, the former conſiſting of ninety, and the latter of one hundred veſſels, that after a *cloſe* fight of *two* hours, the French hiſtorian, M. du Bellay obſerves, there were not leſs than 300 ſhot fired on *both ſides*. Lord Rodney, in his memorable engagement in which the Ville de Paris was taken, informed me himſelf, that he fired eleven broadſides from his own ſhip, which, as ſhe carried ninety-eight guns, was probably almoſt double the number fired on *both* ſides between theſe two mighty fleets. In the earlier ſtate of naval engagement, before the introduction of cannon, the manner of fight was ſtill ruder, and more barbarous; for, the combatants fought on platforms raiſed on the

the decks of the veſſels, ſomething, I ſuppoſe, like thoſe at Otaheite, as deſcribed by captain Cook, and endeavoured with the beaks of their veſſels (the ancient roſtrum) to ſink thoſe of their opponent, or, by a briſk exertion of their oars, to break thoſe of the enemy, and thus render them unmanageable. This mode of fight continued to 1213, and was practiſed in the great fight that year between the French and Engliſh fleets. It muſt have been attended with a great deal more ſlaughter than that which hath followed the uſe of cannon.

We now get into the reign of Elizabeth, and ſee with pleaſure the brilliant ſtate of our riſing navy. The wars ſhe was obliged to carry on with Spain not only obliged her to increaſe it, but were the occaſion of breeding up ſuch a race of naval heroes, as no age or country ever produced within the ſame compaſs of time. It is not the buſineſs of this little tract to do juſtice to their memories by recording them; the names of Raleigh, Drake, Forbiſher, Cavendiſh, Cumberland, and many others, need but be mentioned to be remembered with honour by their grateful countrymen. It will be unneceſſary to ſay more of the navy at this time, as Ledyard and others have given full and pretty correct liſts of it, than that ſhe increaſed it to 17030 tons. It conſiſted of 42 veſſels, about 30 of which may be eſteemed ſhips of the line, as thoſe down to 200 tons were called ſhips royal. She did not increaſe the ſize of her ſhips beyond that of her father's, unleſs we allow the Triumph to be ſo, if ſhe was 1100 tons, as ſome liſts mention her to be; there are many, however, of 900, 800, 700, and 600 tons. The Mary Roſe, and three others, appear to be the only ſhips, except the Great Harry, belonging to her father, of ſo large a ſize as 500 tons. If we credit ſecretary Burchet, they, however, carried a great number of guns; one carried 100, and nine others from ſixty to eighty-eight guns. On Bur-

chet's authority I likewiſe note that *gun-powder* did not begin to be manufactured in *England* until this Princeſs's reign, though cannon, &c. had been ſo long in uſe before. The guns continued to be of diſſimilar calibres on the ſame deck, and probably the ſame practice obtained abroad; for, Peter Hilton in his account of the engagement, in the Gulph of Perſia, between ſome of our ſhips, aſſiſted by others belonging to the Dutch, againſt the Portugueſe fleet, ſays, 'that the Admiral, a carrack of 1700 tons, carried only forty-eight pieces of braſs cannon;" but then they were whole cannon (60lb. ball), demi cannon (31lb), cannon petro (24lb.), whole culverine (18lb.), and demi culverine (9lb. ball). In this place it may not be amiſs to ſtate the calibres and names of the other pieces employed in our ancient ſervice at ſea. Beſides the canon *royal* already mentioned, which were ſometimes of 63lb. ball; there were the French Cannon, 43lb. the Saker of 5lb.; the Minion 4lb.; the Faulcon 2lb. ball. It may be obſerved that theſe were lighter and ſhorter than thoſe uſed now; for inſtance, the 32lb^{er} weighed only about 4000lb. whereas the preſent guns of that bore weigh from 53 to 5500lb.; their 9lb^{ers} weighed 2700lb; our preſent ones only 2300lb. The length of them in the old ſervice were only eight feet ſix inches, through all the calibres; from ten feet to nine feet ſix inches, is the length of thoſe in our preſent ſervice. It may be obſerved that Elizabeth did not increaſe the magnitude of her ſhips beyond that of the Great Harry, nor is there any larger taken notice of till the 8th of James, when the Prince of 1200 tons is ſaid to have been built. Charles the Firſt, indeed, built one much larger ſtill, which muſt have been a prodigy in the Engliſh navy at that time, not only from its ſize, viz. 1657 tons, but from the beauty

beauty and ſuperior knowledge in the art that were diſplayed in it. But of this ſhip I ſhall ſpeak more largely when I come to the reign of Charles the Firſt.

It may be obſerved, that the number of guns continued to be very conſiderable, through the reigns of James the Firſt, Charles the Firſt, and the Uſurpation, and even ſo low down perhaps as the beginning of that of Charles the Second; for, the Royal Catharine, built in 1664, carried eighty-four guns, though only 1050 tons; the Saint Michael, built in 1669, carried ninety guns, though only 1011 tons; the St. George of ninety guns, built in 1662, was only 933 tons. We find them almoſt as inſignificant in the beginning of William and Mary; for I have the copies of three ſhips, the one of eighty guns, tonnage 1140; and of fifty, tonnage 616; and another of twenty-four guns, tonnage 226; built by contract in 1693.

To account, in ſome meaſure, for this extraordinary number of guns, carried on-board ſhips that from their dimenſions ſeemed very unequal to bear them, it may be obſerved, that from the time the old cuſtom of carrying cannon of diſſimilar calibres on the ſame deck was laid aſide, and the number of them increaſed, it became neceſſary to diminiſh the calibres. Perhaps this alteration took place towards the end of the reign of Charles the Firſt, and I ſhall give my reaſon for thinking ſo hereafter. It is now time to ſay ſomething (I wiſh I could ſay more) of the ſtate of the navy in the reign of James the Firſt.

In this peaceful period, it ſeems to have declined conſiderably, inſtead of advancing; for, from my MS. it conſiſted, in the whole, of only 15960 tons, whereas Elizabeth had left him 17030; and in this number of James's it is ſurpriſing to find ſo many of them reported to be unſerviceable. This report is dated in 1618, as followeth:

		Tons.
	Prince Royal	1200
	White Bear	900
	More Honour	800
	Ann Royal	800
	Due Repulſe	700
	Defiance	700
	Warſpight	600
	Aſſurance	600
	Vantguard	600
	Red Lyon	500
	Nonſuch	500
	Rainbow	500
	Dreadnought	400
May be made ſerviceable.	Speedwell	400
	Antelope	350
	Adventure	250
	Crane	200
	Anſwer	200
	Phœnix	150
	Lion's Whelp	90
	Moon	100
	Seven Stars	100
	Deſire	50
May be made ſerviceable.	George Hoy	100
	Primroſe	80
	Eagle Lighter	200
	Elizabeth Jonas	500
Decayed and unſerviceable.	Triumph	1001
	Garland	700
	Mary Roſe	600
	Bonadventure	560
	Quittance	200
	Advantage	200
	Tramontane	160

Primroſe

		Tons.
	Primroſe Pennaa -	30
	Diſdain - -	30
	Charles - -	100
	Ketch - -	10
Galleys.	Superlative -	100
	Advantagia - -	100
	Vollatilla -	100
	Gallerita - - -	100
	Total -	15960

Forty veſſels, of which eight are decayed and unſerviceable, and ſeven more that wanted repair.

I have an account, which is curious enough to have a place here, of this navy, which contains not only the names of the veſſels, but the number and calibre of their guns; from which it appears that guns of diſſimilar bores continued to be employed on the ſame deck from the time of Henry the Eighth down to this period in 1624, at leaſt.

Tons.	*Names.*	*No. of Pieces.*	*Cannon Petro.*	*Demi Cannon.*	*Culver.*	*Demi Culver.*	*Sakers.*	*Minions.*	*Faulcons.*	*Port Pieces.*	*Fowlers.*
1200	Prince	55	2	6	12	18	13	—	—	4	
900	Bear	51	2	6	12	18	9	—	—	4	
800	More Honor	44	2	6	12	12	8	—	—	4	
800	Ann	44	2	5	12	13	8	—	—	4	
700	Repulſe	40	2	2	14	12	4	—	—	2	
700	Defiance	40	2	2	14	12	4	—	2		
921	Triumph	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
880	St. George	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
880	St. Andrew	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
876	Swiftſure	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
870	Victory	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
750	Reformation	42	2	2	16	12	4	—	2		
650	Warſpight	38	2	4	13	13	4	—	2		
651	Vanguard	40	2	—	14	12	4	—	2		
650	Rainbow	40	2	—	14	12	4	—	2	—	4
650	Red Lion	38	2	—	14	12	4	—	2	—	4
600	Aſſurance	38	2	—	10	12	10	—		—	4
600	Nonſuch	38	2	—	12	12	6	—	2	—	4
674	Bonadventure	34	—	—	4	14	10	2		—	4
680	Garland	32	—	—	4	12	10	2	—	—	4
580	Entrance	32	—	—	4	12	10	2	—	—	4
500	Conventine	34	—	—	—	18	10	2	—	—	4
450	Dreadnought	32	—	—	—	16	10	2	—	—	4
450	Antelope	34	—	—	4	14	10	2	—	—	4
350	Adventure	26	—	—	—	12	6	4	—	—	4
388	Mary Roſe	26	—	—	—	8	10	4	—	—	4
250	Phœnix	20	—	—	—	—	12	4	2	—	4
250	Crane		—	—	—	—	—	—			
250	Anſwer		—	—	—	—	—	—			
140	Moon		—	—	—	—	—	—			
140	Seven Stars	14	—	—	—	2	6	6			
140	Charles	14	—	—	—	—	2	6	4		
80	Deſire	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	

The St. Michael, though in neither of theſe two liſts, is ſaid to have been built in 1609; ſhe was 1107 tons, and therefore properly ſhould belong to the reign of James the Firſt; I find her exiſting in a liſt of 1700. My MS. account however ſays ſhe was built in 1600; if ſo, ſhe belongs to the reign of Elizabeth.

We find but few materials for the reign of Charles the Firſt. The ſhips mentioned by Sir William Monſon to have been

been built by him are few, and not large, except the laſt, if we may be allowed to eſtimate their magnitude from the number of men allotted to each of them. The ſubſequent troubles of his reign, when the contention about the rights of the prince and the claims of his ſubjects grew ſo violent, prevented his application to this important ſubject, which he, however, ſeemed to be well acquainted with. The ſhips therefore, built by him, are only the Ten Whelps, ſeventy men, the Mary Pinnace twenty-five men, the Charles, 250 men, the James, 260, the Victory, 250, the Leopard, 170, the Swallow, 150, and the Sovereign, 1657 tons. Heywood, the old hiſtorian, hath given a very full and curious account of this laſt ſhip, which, as it correſponds pretty exactly with a drawing of her in my poſſeſſion, taken from a painting of her, and that very ancient, which was preſerved at Blackwall, where Pett, the builder, had his reſidence, and ſuffered to be copied by Mr. White, maſter-builder in Portſmouth Dock-yard, from whom I obtained this drawing; perhaps it will not be treſpaſſing too much on the indulgence of the Society, if I am permitted to give this account by Heywood.

"The length of her keel is 128 feet, or thereabouts, within ſome few inches, her main breadth forty-eight feet; her utmoſt length from the fore end of her beak-head unto the after end of the ſtern *à prora ad puppim* 232 feet; ſhe is in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lantern, ſeventy-ſix feet; ſhe beareth five lanterns, the biggeſt of which will hold ten perſons to ſtand upright, without ſhouldering or preſſing each other; ſhe hath three fluſh decks, and a fore-caſtle, a half deck, a quarter deck, and a round houſe; her lower tier hath thirty ports, which are to be furniſhed with demi cannon, and whole cannon throughout, being able to bear

bear them; her middle tier hath alſo thirty ports for demi culverine and whole culverine; her third tier hath twenty-ſix ports for other ordnance; her forecaſtle hath twelve ports, and two half decks have thirteen or fourteen ports more within board for murdering pieces, beſides a great many loop-holes out of the cabins for muſket ſhot; ſhe carrieth moreover ten pieces of chace ordnance in her, right forward, and ten right aft, that is, according to land ſervice, in the front and the rear; ſhe carrieth eleven anchors, one of them weighing 4400lb. (a ſhip of this burthen would now have her ſheet anchor 6700lb).

"The prime workman is captain Phineas Pett, overſeer of the work, whoſe anceſtors, father, grandfather, and great grandfather, for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards, have continued, in the ſame name, officers and architects in the royal navy." As this ſhip was built in 1637, this account would carry ſomething like a regular eſtabliſhment, as far back as 1437, the reign of Henry the Sixth.

However, it is a remarkable account of this family, eſpecially as I can farther add to the uncommonneſs of it, that the ſame family made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the ſame line, and the ſame office in the king's yard, to the end of William the Third; but to return to Heywood. "The maſter-builder is young Mr. Pett, who, before he was twenty-five years, made the model and perfected the work: the maſter-carvers are John and Matthew Chriſtmas, Francis Shelton, clerk of the cheque: ſhe hath two galleries beſides, and all of moſt curious carved work, and all the ſides of the ſhip carved with trophies of artillery, and types of honour, as well belonging to ſea as land, with ſymbols appertaining to navigation; alſo their two ſacred majeſties badges of honour; arms with ſe-

veral

veral angels holding their letters in compartiments, all which works are gilded over, and no other colour but gold and black; one tree or oak made four of the principal beams, which was forty four feet, of ſtrong ſerviceable timber in length, three feet diameter at the top, and ten feet at the ſtub or bottom; ſhe is 1637 tons, the year in which ſhe was built.

"Upon the ſtem-head a Cupid or child bridling a lion; upon the bulk-head, right forward, ſtand ſix ſtatues, in ſundry poſtures; theſe figures repreſent Concilium, Cura, Conamen, Vis, Virtus, Victoria.

"Upon the hamers of the water are four figures, Jupiter, Mars, Neptune, Æolus; on the ſtern, Victory, in the midſt of a Frontiſpiece; upon the beak-head ſitteth king Edgar on horſeback, trampling on ſeven kings."

It may be proper to mention, in order to account for the difference in the tonnage ſtated here from that which I have given, in 1637 inſtead of 1657, that the old mode of calculating the tonnage was different from that practiſed now. The old mode was by multiplying the length of keel by the extreme breadth, and multiplying that product by the depth in the hold, and then dividing by 96 for men of war. This was correct enough while the depth in the hold continued to be exactly one half of the extreme breadth, which it did for many years; but we have latterly leſſened the depth in the hold conſiderably from that proportion; for, in a firſt rate, by the eſtabliſhment of 1745, the half breadth was twenty-five feet ſix inches, while the depth in the hold was only twenty-one feet ſix inches, four feet leſs than the half breadth. They anciently divided the whole product, as I have ſaid, by 96, we now divide it by 94, which, indeed, they did formerly for the merchants' ſervice, though they fixed on 96 for the king's ſhips.

In honour of commerce we muſt obſerve that the ſize of our ſhips gradually increaſed as that became more diffuſed, and extended to more remote parts of the earth. Leſſer veſſels ſerved the purpoſes of trade, while it was limited to the neighbouring parts of Europe; but the diſcoveries of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies ſoon ſuggeſted the neceſſity of having larger veſſels for ſuch long voyages, that would conſume ſo much time to perform them, and in which every conveniency and ſupply for three years, or more, muſt accompany the merchandiſe. We find, accordingly, that the firſt very large veſſels called caracks, of 16 and even of 1700 tons, were early introduced into their Eaſt India trade by the Portugueſe, the firſt diſcoverers and ſettlers in thoſe diſtant countries; nor did the Spaniſh importance at ſea commence until Philip the Second had annexed Portugal to his dominions. All the large veſſels in his memorable Armada of 1588 were Portugueſe veſſels; and it was not until 1591, according to Sir William Monſon, that he thought of building ſuch large ſhips for himſelf. He then ordered the Twelve Apoſtles, of 13 and 1400 tons to be built.

We alſo find the neceſſity of obliging our own Eaſt India Company to build very large ſhips; for, I find two veſſels, the James of 1010 tons, and the Trades Increaſe of 1100 tons, employed in their ſervice in the reign of James the Firſt, being as large or larger than any at that time belonging to the Royal Navy.

Sir William Monſon ſays that even in the twenty-fourth of Elizabeth we had 135 veſſels of 500 tons and *upwards*, belonging to the merchants; ſo rapidly had trade increaſed at that early period of it.

Trade, therefore gradually increaſing, gradually increaſed the ſize and number of our ſhips in the royal navy, and hath, at laſt, fixed the latter, as well as the wealth of the nation in

general, on the reſpectable footing they now maintain. Trade muſt continue to ſupport what trade hath ſo proſperouſly effected. Trade only can raiſe ſeamen, and without the neceſſary number of ſeamen our navy muſt become uſeleſs very ſoon.

It is from the want of attention to this neceſſary connection between the extenſion of commerce and the ſtate of a navy, that the Spaniards have continued to increaſe the latter, while they have neglected the former; and are not able to man more than one half of the ſhips they have built. The number makes a figure on paper; but the want of ſeamen takes away all their conſequence.

The materials for this account are alſo very ſcanty during the Uſurpation and Oliver's time; though from what I have been able to collect, it ſufficiently appears that the ſize of the ſhips was not increaſed; and that the great naval officer, the gallant Blake, was more intent on making much and honourable uſe of the ſhips he found built, than of adding much to their number, and nothing to their magnitude. In the following account of them, we may obſerve that their depth in the hold is much below the uſual proportion. As the only enemy he could have to contend with were the Dutch, no other ſtate having then any ſea force at all, is it not probable that this proportion in the hold had been leſſened purpoſely for engaging the Dutch ſhips in the ſhallow waters on their own coaſt; as this diminution occaſioned their drawing conſiderably leſs water? As ſome of Blake's fleets appear to be numerous, it is likely that many of Charles's ſhips were ſtill left and formed a part of them. We know particularly that the Triumph, the James, and the Vanguard, that figured in thoſe actions, were ſhips built by Charles. We even find the Royal Charles, built by him ſo late as 1684, as alſo the Victory and James. As this liſt is very particular, though not

numerous, and gives a diſtinction, for the firſt time, of the difference in men and guns, when the ſhips were employed abroad or at home, I hope I may be allowed to infert it at full length.

When.	*Tons.*	*Ships Names.*	*Depth.*	*Length.*	*Breadth.*	*By whom.*	*Guns*	*Men abroad*	*Men at home.*	*Where.*
1650	567	Aſſiſtance	12	102	32,4	Johnſon	48	197	264	Deptford.
1650	544	Advice	12,4	100	32	Commiſſ. Pett	48	197	226	Woolwich.
1653	670	Briſtol	13,6	109	34	J. Tippets	48	197	226	Portſmouth.
1649	550	Bonaventure	12,6	102	31,10	Pett, ſenior	48	197	226	Chatham.
1654	577	Crown	13	106	32	R. Caſtle	48	197	226	Redriffe.
1654	662	Dover	12,11	100	32,6	W. Ourtel	46	182	216	Shoreham.
1647	402	Dragon	12,6	96	30,1	Goddard	46	182	333	Woolwich.
1657	768	Dunkirk	14,9	112	35,11	Burrel	60	264	332	Portſmouth.
1650	684	Monk	13,7	108	34,6	J. Tippets	60	264	332	Woolwich.
1649	829	Mary	14,6	116	36,8	C. Pett	64	274	346	Portſmouth.
1654	836	Montague	15,6	118	36,6	J. Tippets	62	374	346	Radcliffe.
1653	641	Newcaſtle	13,6	108,6	33,4	Pett, ſenior	54	236	274	Wapping.
1654	833	Plymouth	14,6	116	36,9	J. Taylor	60	264	332	Woolbridge
1658	573	Reſerve	12,8	100	32,10	P. Pett	48	197	226	Deptford.
1651	556	Ruby	13	105,6	31,6	P. Pett, ſenior	48	197	226	Blackwall.
1647	448	Tyger	12	99	29	Phin. Pett	46	197	226	Woolwich.
1654	745	York	14,7	116	34,9	Sir Tho. Johnſon	60	264	332	Portſmouth.

We

We have now reached the reign of Charles the Second. The ſtruggles for liberty happily terminated; and freedom, in a great meaſure eſtabliſhed on ſolid and permanent foundations, allowed the nation to proſecute again the beneficial arts of trade and induſtry. We ſee with pleaſure, therefore, the happy effects of peace and ſecurity, in the powerful fleets raiſed in this reign: fleets that gave us truly the dominion of the ſea, and eſpecially as thoſe of the Dutch, our only competitors at this time, decreaſed as rapidly as ours increaſed. It was ſome time after this before the French began to be formidable at ſea.

I know the liſt of this Prince's navy hath already been publiſhed; but, I am informed, not in the complete manner that I am able to give it. May I be allowed to give mine, without diſtreſſing too much the patience of my readers? It will be, at the worſt, only a table of reference, which the reader may omit as much of as he pleaſes. It will be ſeen that the ſame difference in the guns and men employed at home and abroad, continued to be obſerved; that it continued down to the beginning of the preſent century, through the reigns of William the Third, and through the greateſt part of even that of Anne; and, what may want ſome explanation is, that the leaſt number is allotted to the ſervice abroad, where, from the difficulty of ſupplying them, we ſhould have expected the greateſt number, eſpecially in the men. This liſt is dated 1684.

	Tons.	Ships Names.	Guns at home.	Guns abroad.	Men at home.	Men abroad.
First Rate, Nine.	1684					
	1313	St. Andrew	96	86	730	670
	1715	Britannia	100	90	780	670
	1441	Royal Charles	100	90	780	670
	1398	Charles	96	86	710	605
	1441	Royal James	100	90	780	670
	1328	London	96	86	730	620
	1107	St. Michael	90	80	600	520
	1400	Royal Prince	100	90	780	670
	1545	Royal Sovereign	100	90	815	710
Second Rate, Fourteen.	1475	Dutcheſs	90	82	660	500
	900	St. George	70	62	460	310
	1050	Royal Catharine	84	74	540	360
	1497	Neptune	90	82	660	500
	968	French Ruby	80	72	520	350
	1395	Sandwich	90	82	660	500
	898	Triumph	70	60	460	310
	1029	Victory	82	72	530	350
	845	Unicorne	64	54	410	270
	1357	Vanguard	90	82	660	500
	1462	Windſor Caſtle	90	82	660	500
	1462	Albermarle	90	82	660	500
	1546	Duke	90	82	660	500
	1400	Oſſory	90	82	660	500
Third Rate.	1090	Anne	70	62	460	380
	1089	Berwick	70	62	460	380
	1050	Breda	70	62	460	380
	1174	Burford	70	62	460	380
	1164	Captain	70	62	460	380
	941	Cambridge	70	60	420	345
	704	Dunkirk	60	52	340	270
	735	Dreadnought	62	54	355	280
	902	Defiance	70	56	400	320
	998	Edgar	70	62	445	370
	1057	Eagle	70	62	490	380
	1064	Eſſex	70	62	460	380

Third

	Tons,	Ships Names.	Guns at home.	Guns abrad.	Men at home.	Men abroad.
Third Rate.	1059	Expedition	70	62	460	380
	1150	Elizabeth	70	62	460	380
	1184	Grafton	70	62	460	380
	1054	Hope	70	62	460	380
	1105	Hampton-Court	70	62	460	380
	987	Harwich	70	60	420	345
	763	Henrietta	62	54	350	280
	1064	Kent	70	62	460	380
	1096	Lenox	70	52	460	380
	727	Lyon	60	52	340	270
	795	Mary	64	54	360	250
	880	Monmouth	66	58	400	320
	696	Monk	60	52	340	270
	809	Montague	62	54	356	280
	1115	Northumberland	70	62	460	380
	1107	Royal Oak	74	64	470	390
	752	Plymouth	60	52	340	210
	885	Reſolution	70	60	420	270
	1033	Reſtoration	70	62	460	300
	813	Rupert	66	58	400	255
	1114	Sterling Caſtle	70	62	460	300
	978	Swiftſure	70	60	420	270
	1151	Suffolk	70	62	460	300
	892	Warſpight	70	60	420	270
	734	York	60	52	340	210
	1093	Pendennis	70	62	460	300
	1151	Exeter	70	62	60	300
Fourth Rate.	432	Adventure	44	38	190	160
	545	Advice	48	42	230	200
	576	Antelope	48	42	230	200
	555	Aſſiſtance	48	42	230	200
	372	Aſſurance	42	36	180	150
	510	Bonadventure	48	42	230	200
	547	Briſtol	48	32	230	200
	526	Charles Galley	32	32	220	220
	531	Centurion	48	42	230	200

Fourth

Fourth Rate.

Tons.	*Ships names.*	*Guns at home*	*Guns abroad*	*Men at home.*	*Men abroad*
530	Crowne	48	42	230	200
374	Conſtant Warwick	42	46	180	150
638	St. David	54	46	280	240
550	Diamond	48	42	230	200
544	Dover	48	42	230	200
479	Dragon	46	40	220	185
538	Foreſight	48	42	230	200
367	Faulcon	42	36	180	150
539	Greenwich	54	46	280	240
470	Hampſhire	46	40	220	185
623	Happy Return	54	46	280	240
433	James Gally	30	30	200	200
558	Jerſey	48	42	230	200
664	King's Fiſher	46	40	220	185
676	Leopard	54	46	280	240
555	Mary Roſe	48	42	230	200
625	Newcaſtle	54	46	280	240
345	Nonſuch	42	36	180	150
677	Oxford	54	46	280	240
468	Portſmouth	46	40	220	185
368	Phœnix	42	36	180	150
588	Portland	50	44	240	210
538	Reſerve	48	42	230	200
532	Ruby	48	42	230	200
559	Swallow	48	42	230	200
376	Sweepſtakes	42	36	180	180
590	Tyger	46	40	230	200
649	Tyger's Prize	46	40	230	200
716	Woolwich	54	46	280	240
722	Golden Horſe Prize	46	40	230	200
556	Half Moons	44	38	190	160
552	Two Lyons of Algiers	44	38	190	160
567	Mordaunt	46	40	230	200

Of the line, 105 ſhips.

Fifth

	Ton	Ships Names.	Guns at home.	Guns abroad	Men at home.	Men abroad.
Fifth Rate.	265	Dartmouth	32	28	135	115
	255	Garland	32	28	130	110
	255	Guernsey	30	28	130	110
	294	Mermaid	32	28	135	115
	260	Pearl	30	28	130	115
	234	Rose	28	26	128	115
	223	Richmond	28	26	125	115
	305	Swan	32	28	135	115
	346	Sapphire	32	28	135	115
	280	Orange Tree	30	28	130	110
	260	St. Paul's Prize	32	28	135	115
Sixth Rate.	151	Drake	16	14	75	65
	79	Deptford Ketch	10	10	50	40
	33	Fanfan	4	4	30	28
	145	Francis	16	14	75	65
	175	Greyhound	16	14	75	65
	199	Lark	18	16	85	70
	79	Quaker Ketch	10	10	50	40
	144	Roebuck, in the Privy Seal to be sold.				
Sloops.	80	Sondades	16	14	75	65
	57	Boneta	4	4	10	10
	50	Hound	4	4	10	10
	46	Hunter	4	4	10	10
	57	Woolwich	4	4	10	10
Fire Ships.	250	Ann and Christopher	8	8	45	40
	240	Castle	8	8	45	40
	305	Eagle	12	12	45	40
	178	John and Alexander	8	8	35	30
	175	Providence	8	8	35	30
	250	Spanish Merchant	8	8	45	40
	240	Sampson	12	12	50	45
	127	Sarah	6	6	30	25
	135	Thomas and Catharine	8	8	35	30
	8	Young Spragge	6	6	25	20
	145	Peace	10	10	50	40
	163	Golden Rose	8	8	35	30

	Tons	Ships Names.	Guns at home.	Guns abroad	Men at home.	Men abroad.
Yachts.	100	Anne	8	6	30	20
	135	Bizan	4	4	8	8
	167	Cleveland	8	6	30	20
	24	Deale	4	4	8	8
	148	Tubs	12	10	40	30
	26	Iſabella	4	4	4	4
	31	Iſle of Whight	4	4	5	5
	131	Catharine	8	6	30	20
	109	Merlin	8	6	30	20
	103	Monmouth	8	6	30	20
	155	Mary	8	6	30	20
	143	Charlotte	8	6	30	20
	133	Portſmouth	8	6	30	20
	74	Navy	8	6	30	20
	27	Queenborough	4	4	4	4
	64	Richmond	—	—	—	—
	101	Kitchen	8	6	30	20
	159	Henrietta	8	6	30	20
Small Veſſels.	33	Marygold	—	—	5	5
	16	Little London	—	—	2	2
	65	Lighter Hoy	—	—	3	3
	18	Sheerneſs	—	—	2	2
	34	Royal Eſcape	—	—	10	10
	40	Unity Horſe Boat	—	—	4	4
	70	Tranſporter	—	—	3	3
	10	Tow Engine	—	—	2	—
Hulks.	987	Arms of Rotterdam	—	—	7	—
	446	America	—	—	20	—
	516	Arms of Home	—	—	8	—
	716	Alphen	—	—	4	—
	350	Elias	—	—	2	—
	440	Stadtholder	—	—	4	—
	772	Slothany	—	—	7	—
	15	Sherſk Smack	—	—	—	—

105 line of battle ſhips; 11 fifth rates; 16 ſloops; 9 ſmaller ſloops; 18 yachts; 8 ſmaller ditto; 8 hulks.—Total 175. 101,273 tons.

If

If I may preſume to account for this difference between the home and the foreign ſervice, which, I find by looking over my old liſts of the navy continued ſo late as the year 1730, it ſhould be, by obſerving, to the credit of government, that our ſeveral naval yards at Jamaica, Halifax, and Antigua, were not then eſtabliſhed; but which, being now eſtabliſhed, and affording every poſſible ſupply to our navy abroad, hath made it unneceſſary for our ſhips on foreign ſervice, to encumber themſelves with ſuch extra proviſions, of maſts, yards, cordage, and even of victuals, as ſuch a length of time required; and left them at liberty to perform thoſe diſtant ſervices, with the ſame force of guns and men abroad as at home.

It will be unneceſſary to ſwell this account with any more liſts of our navy. It may be ſufficient to obſerve that the ſhips built in the reign of William the Third, though they added very much to the number, did not very much add to the ſize of them; for, except a new Royal Sovereign built towards the end of his reign of 1882 tons, and which remained a ſerviceable ſhip till about 1786, we find no other that equalled the magnitude of the Britannia of 1715 tons, which was built by Charles the Second. The ſecond rates ſeem to have encreaſed in ſize; and it is not to be wondered at, when we find the calibre of their guns to be the ſame, as that uſed for the firſt rates; the third rates, indeed, are larger, and ſo are the fourth rates. The firſt rates, at a medium, were about 1600; the ſecond 1370; the eighties 1200; the ſeventies 1047; the ſixties 876; the fifties about 650 tons.

As the old practice of carrying guns of diſſimilar calibres was now laid aſide (it had continued, probably, till ſome time in the reign of Charles the Firſt, when the Royal Sovereign was built), it may be curious to ſee, as ſummarily as

poſſible, the ſtate of them in each age, ſo low down as 1709. I obſerved, I think, that the calibre for the firſt and ſecond rates were the ſame, which is rather ſurpriſing as the diſproportion in their tonnage was conſiderable; the medium of the firſt-rates being about 1600, and that of the ſecond rates, only 1370. I muſt be allowed the liberty of obſerving that I think too little attention hath been generally paid to this difference of tonnage, even in ſhips of the ſame claſs; ſome of our firſt rates, even at preſent, though larger by more than 200 tons, carry the ſame calibre of guns uniformly, without any attention to the difference in their ſize.

But to return to the calibres in 1709: the firſt and ſecond rates carried 32lb^ers^ on the lower deck, 18lb^ers^ on the middle deck, and 9lb^ers^ on the upper or main deck; the ſhips of eighty guns carried only 24lb^ers^ on the lower deck, 12lb^ers^ on the middle deck, and 6lb^ers^ on the upper or main deck; the ſeventy gun ſhips carried 24lb^ers^ on the lower deck. In the beginning of William's reign, they carried only 18lb^ers^ on that deck, and only 9lb^ers^ on the upper deck; the ſixty gun ſhips carried 18lb^ers^ on the lower, and 9lb^ers^ on the upper deck; the fifties 12lb^ers^ below, and 6lb^ers^ on the upper deck; the fifth rates 9lb^ers^ below, and 6lb^ers^ on the main deck. The frigates were certainly too ſmall for the quality and number of their guns, being generally only about 260 tons, and yet carrying twenty-four guns, twenty of them 6lb^ers^ and four of them 4lb^ers^. Our ſloops, at this time, upwards of 300 tons, carry only fourteen, and ſome few ſixteen, 6lb^ers^.

With the greateſt diffidence in my own opinion, and ready ſubmiſſion to profeſſional men, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the weight of the guns allotted to the ſea ſervice hath been too heavy for the ſize of the ſhips, as, perhaps, the following inſtance may evince.

In

In ſeven years after this eſtabliſhment in 1790, viz. in 1716, a new one was directed to be made by the flag officers, of whom Byng, afterwards lord Torrington, was preſident. Such a reſpectable authority makes me cautious of inſiſting on my own opinion. This new order for the ordnance, without any conſiderable increaſe in the ſize of our ſhips, which, indeed, could not have been of much conſequence in two years, (for by a liſt of our navy, in my hands in 1714, I find the navy conſiſted very nearly of thoſe given in 1709,) this new regulation, I ſay, directs the firſt-rates to carry guns of 42 or 32lb. ball on the lower; 24lb. on the middle deck; and 12lb. on the main deck. The old calibres are retained for the ninety gun ſhips, but thoſe of eighty were to have 32lb^ers on the lower deck inſtead of 24lb^ers; the ſeventy-gun ſhips were to carry 12lb^ers inſtead of 9lb^ers on the upper deck; the ſixties to carry 24lb^ers on the lower deck inſtead of 18lb^ers; and the fifty gun ſhips 18lb^ers on the lower deck inſtead of 12lb^ers; and 9lb^ers inſtead of 6lb^ers on the upper deck; and the forties, inſtead of 9lb^ers on the lower, were to carry 12lb^ers; a moſt amazing increaſe in the ſize of the guns, with ſcarcely any in that of the ſhips.

A long peace made us inattentive to the farther improvement of the navy. We idly imagined the neighbouring powers had been as remiſs as ourſelves; and that our own navy, ſtill equal to what it had been, was ſtill as able to combat theirs as ever. But the action that took place in the Mediterranean in 1742, when Mathews and Leſtock commanded our fleet, convinced us of our error. In that memorable engagement, we ſuppoſed, by having a greater number of ſhips, that we had alſo an acknowledged ſuperiority of force; but we ſaw with ſurprize how active our enemies had been, and what advantage they had taken of our indolence; for, our admirals, from the inferior ſize of thoſe ſhips, were obliged

obliged to order all our fifty-gun ſhips out of the line, though eleven in number, and always deemed ſhips of the line, and taking their ſtation, as ſuch in all engagements, and placed them among the frigates; nay, the very ſixty-gun ſhips, many of which were not much above 900 tons, were very poorly equal to ſuch honourable ſervice, being not bigger than ſome of our preſent frigates of thirty-ſix guns, which are about 940 tons.

Soon after this we had the good fortune to capture the Princeſſa, a Spaniſh ſhip of ſeventy guns, and above 1700 tons, at a time when our own *three ſeventy-gun ſhips* that took her were under 1100 tons each. Our eyes were then opened; and we found it neceſſary to increaſe the ſize of our ſhips and guns, if we wiſhed to meet the enemy on equal terms. This was done, though very inadequately every way, by a new eſtabliſhment in 1745; which I beg leave to inſert here, as it will furniſh matter for ſome other obſervations.

Eſta liſhment in 1745.—Number of Guns	100	90	80	70	60	50	44	24
Keel for Tonnage	144,6	138,4	134,$\frac{20}{24}$	131,4	123	117,8	108,10	93,4
Extream Length of Keel	178,1	170	165	160	150	144	133	113
Extreme Breadth	51	48 6	47	45	42,8	41	37,6	32
Depth in Hold	21,6	20,6	20	19,4	18,6	17,8	16	11
Draft of water afore	22,3	21,1	20,4	19,4	18,3	17,2	16	12
Draft of water abaft	23,5	22,3	21,6	20,6	19,5	18,4	17,2	14
Height of the lower cell of the gun-deck ports in Midſhips	5,3	5,3	5,4	5,4	5,11	5,11	5,2	7,9
Burthen in Tons	2000	1730	1585	1414	1191	1052	814	508

Conſiderable as this increaſe in the ſize ſeemed to be, it was ſoon ſeen that our veſſels were too ſmall to bear the guns with which they were overloaded. The ſame error that occurred in

the eſtabliſhment made by Byng was repeated. Our firſt-rates were ordered to carry 42lb^ers which ſeemed to have been optional only by him, on the lower deck; the nineties to carry 12lb^ers upon the upper deck inſtead of 9lb^ers; the eighties to carry 18lb^ers and 9lb^ers on the middle and upper deck inſtead of 12lb^ers and 6lb^ers; the ſeventies (a great riſe indeed, as they were only about 200 tons each bigger than the former eſtabliſhment) to carry 32lb^ers and 18lb^ers on the lower and upper deck, inſtead of 24lb^ers and 12lb^ers; the ſixties to carry 24lb^ers and 12lb^ers inſtead of 24lb^ers and 9lb^ers. Theſe, perhaps, they could bear, but the fifties were certainly too much loaded, as they were to carry 24lb^ers and 12lb^ers inſtead of 18lb^ers and 9lb^ers The forties are more equal to the calibre of their guns; for though not much more than 100 tons leſs than the fifties, they carry only 18lb^ers and 9lb^ers. The ſhips, therefore, built by this eſtabliſhment, proved, in general, very crank, and bad ſea-boats. They have been gradually much enlarged ſince.

Sir Walter Raleigh recommended that the ſhips ſhould carry their midſhip guns four feet from the water. We have now improved, by the above table, what he ſeemed to think was ſufficient; for even our three-deckers carry them fifteen inches higher, and our two-deckers, except the forties, about twenty inches higher out of the water. Perhaps this would be ſufficient, if we could depend on their truth in *practice*; but that is not the caſe, for, our preſent Victory, although ſuch an excellent ſhip in every other reſpect, carries thoſe guns only about four feet ſix inches, being nine inches leſs than the calculation from her draft ſhould give her. Theſe nine inches are material, not only by diſabling her *often* from uſing her lower-deck guns; but, by immerſing that quantity of her body in the water, muſt *permanently* affect her ſailing and working.

As

As we continued to take, both from the French and Spaniards, a great many ſhips, we found that we were ſtill very ſhort of the magnitudes to which they had increaſed theirs. We found that the weight of our guns was too great, and that we muſt either leſſen their calibres, or build ſhips more able to carry them. To meet our enemy on equal terms, we could not do the former; the latter hath therefore been choſen: for, it was ridiculous, ſurely, to put, on-board veſſels of 1414 tons, calibres, that the French and Spaniards employed in veſſels of above 1700 tons.

It is poſſible, however, to exceed the limits that experience ſeems to tells us ſhould be obſerved in the calibre of our guns for ſea ſervice; for we may be aſſured, that all weight above water, that is not ſtrictly uſeful, is detrimental to the ſhip, and injurious to the ſervice. This was, perhaps, the caſe of our 42lb^ers^; they were unmanageable guns, and loaded the veſſel unneceſſarily; for a calibre of 32lb. could be loaded and fired, at leaſt thrice as ſoon as that of 42lb. could twice. Theſe reflections induced the late lord Keppel to confine himſelf to 32lb^ers^ on board the Victory, and to eſtabliſh it generally through the navy. This calibre is ſurely equal to any ſervice at ſea; 24lb^ers^ are almoſt the only calibres employed in the land ſervice. The ſides of a ſhip are not ſtronger than ſtone walls; and the force that can demoliſh and reduce them to a mere heap of rubbiſh muſt be very ſufficient to batter the ſides of any ſhip whatever. The admiral ſeemed to hope that by this reduction of the lower-deck guns he could have ſubſtituted 32lb^ers^ on the middle deck inſtead of 24lb^ers^; but they were found too heavy on trial; and he was contented to preſerve the old calibres in that as well as in the upper deck; but, inſtead of the 6lb^ers^ on the quarter-deck and fore-caſtle, he placed 12lb^ers^. It would take ſome time to calculate whether this addition

addition of weight, ſo high out of the water, would not overbalance the advantage gained by the reduction below. Perhaps, it would have been a more eligible trial whether the ſame ſhip could not have ſupported 18lb^ers on the upper deck inſtead of 12lb^ers eſpecially if the guns on that deck had been of *braſs*, in which caſe the difference would not have been very great. It certainly would be worth the trial if the attempt was made with the two firſt-rates now building, the Ville de Paris, and the Hibernia; which being almoſt 200 tons bigger than the Victory, might ſucceed with more real advantage than the addition of ten ſmaller guns now intended for them, eſpecially if the guns on the quarter-deck and forecaſtle were reduced to 9lb^ers or even 6lb^ers the old calibres on thoſe decks, inſtead of the 12lb^ers now allotted to them. As the chief uſe of thoſe ſmaller guns is to cut and deſtroy the rigging, they might be found as efficient for thoſe purpoſes as the 12lb^ers. The only farther improvement (if I am not guilty of preſumption in propoſing it) is to add to the importance of our ſecond rates by introducing 24lb^ers on their middle deck inſtead of 18lb^ers. It is plain, from what I have ſaid, that I am not a friend to overloading a ſhip with guns; but I really think this addition may be made with perfect ſafety to thoſe ſhips; for our preſent ſecond rates are veſſels of above 2000 tons. The old Britannia and Royal Sovereign were under 1900 tons; and even the Royal George, ſo unfortunately ſunk at Portſmouth, was only 2045. Theſe ſhips carried 42lb^ers 24lb^ers and 12lb^ers. Surely the trial may be made, therefore, with ſhips of the ſame ſize, carrying ten guns leſs. I ſhould hope to ſee the fifty-gun ſhips either made bigger, or the calibre of their guns made leſs; for I muſt be allowed to think them too ſmall for the latter at preſent. The Surveyor of the Navy, ſenſible that the one or the other muſt be done, ſeems

inclined to recommend the reduction of the calibre, by employing guns only of 18lb^ers^ on the lower deck; as the French continue to employ guns of 24lb. and 12lb. only in their ſixty-four gun ſhips, I ſhould rather, (with great deference I ſay it) wiſh the ſhips were enlarged, and made fit to carry the guns which they have now done for almoſt fifty years, though with inconveniency. The fifty-gun ſhips have always been line of battle ſhips, and ſtill take their ſtations in that ſervice *occaſionally*. In our diſtant ſervices, they are very able to cope with a very large proportion of the ſhips uſed by our enemies, both French and Spaniards, and take a much leſs number of men; an article of the greateſt importance at a time when our other line-of-battle ſhips are ſo much enlarged, and want ſo many. I think it may be noted here (though it might have been done with more propriety ſooner) that we have leſſened our proportion of men for the reſpective tonnages of our ſhips conſiderably. In the earlier parts of our ſervice their number was generally one half the tonnage; it is now, and hath long been, only about one-third.

Much hath been done, and our anceſtors would be ſurprized at the ſeveral improvements that have been made in our navy. Perhaps all hath not been done that would accompliſh it; but the bigotry of old practice oppoſes every thing that looks like *innovation*. I do not recommend the adoption of every new whim; it is only from *experiment* that I wiſh to ſee the adoption taken; but even experience is ſometimes too weak to combat old prejudices. Speculative men may propoſe, but till trials have been made of the *utility* and *practicability* of what they propoſe, it is wiſdom not to receive them. Du Hamel, in his excellent treatiſe "Sur la Corderie", hath given a remarkable inſtance of this ſtrong oppoſition, even to experiment. This old philoſopher, on very philo-

philoſophical principles, imagined, that in the common practice of twiſting cordage away one third, viz. 180 fathoms to 120, in the inſtance of cables, &c. the cordage was only weakened by this extraordinary tenſion, many of the ſtrains being broken by it, a great conſumption of hemp incurred, a greater weight added to it aloft, and a greater difficulty occaſioned in paſſing through the pulleys by the hardneſs of the twiſted body. Under theſe convictions, he propoſed to the French government about 1740, to fit out ſome frigates, with all the cordage employed on one ſide of them twiſted according to the old practice, while the cordage employed on the other ſide of them ſhould be twiſted away *only* one fourth, according to his ideas of it. Thus differently fitted out, they were ſent one to Cape Breton, another to Martinico, where they remained ſome time. On their return to Breſt and Toulon, in the preſence of the officers of thoſe yards, and many able ſeamen, the ſtate of the two cordages was minutely examined. The report was ſtrongly in favour of Du Hamel's cordage. Strong as this report was in favour of Du Hamel's method, it has never been adopted in the French ſervice, which *almoſt* inclines me to ſuſpect ſome want of candour in Du Hamel. However, after ſuch a ſolemn, and, ſeemingly, a fair trial, both in a Southern and a Northern climate, it offers ſuch advantages as to make it worth a trial in England; and I have reaſon to think it will be made here.

Another improvement ſeems to be taking place. We have been fond of increaſing the number of our guns. This hath induced us to give one gun more on the middle and upper decks than on the lower deck, without reflecting that this advantage was gained by placing the additional gun on a falſe bearing, where it could have no ſtrength from the keel, as the lower-deck guns had. By thus loading the two extremities

(for, the ſame error, if it is one, was practiſed abaft likewiſe), the preſſure became violent on the two ends of the keel, and produced in time what the ſeamen call a hog-back, or a conſiderable riſing in the middle, and a depreſſion at the two extremities of the keel. Few of our ſhips, that have been built any time, eſcape this evil. That excellent ſhip, the Victory, particularly labours under it. It hath been now corrected, as my excellent friend, the preſent ſurveyor of the navy, aſſures me, in the new Royal George.

The ſize of our ſhips ſeems now to have reached nearly its ultimatum; for, nature herſelf, in ſome meaſure, fixes its limits. It is *man* who is to navigate and manage them; and, unleſs our bodily ſtrength could be increaſed likewiſe; every manœuvre on-board them muſt be conducted with difficulty and delay. For, though the mechanic powers are almoſt boundleſs, the application of them, for the purpoſes of navigation, is more confined. The cordage, when made larger, will be rendered difficult to paſs through the pulleys, and ſo large, at laſt, as not to paſs at all. Timber, the growth of nature, as much as man, cannot be made to grow larger, and the very element (in harbours at leaſt), in which they are to navigate, hath only certain depths that cannot be increaſed. And let it be remembered, as a certain axiom in mechanics, that what we gain in *power* we muſt be contented to loſe in *time*. Every operation on-board will therefore become laborious, dilatory, and even uncertain.

The French, indeed, have latterly built a ſhip of a moſt extraordinary ſize; 172 feet keel for tonnage, by fifty-five feet, nine inches, by the beam, tonnage about 2850 tons; but ſhe is pronounced to be entirely unfit for ſervice, and hath never been out of harbour; and the Spaniards are ſaid (and that by ſuch a reſpectable authority as that of the Marquis del Campo)

Campo) to have built one ſtill larger ; but the Spaniards, on ſending this unwieldy monſter to ſea, found that ſhe muſt have been loſt, if they had not had the precaution to ſend out two other ſhips with her, which towed and brought her back again.

The art and induſtry of man hath been ſufficiently evinced, in having traced this gradual progreſs from the firſt ſimple raft, or a few logs of wood tied together to paſs a *ſingle* man over ſome inconſiderable river, up to our preſent firſt-rates of above 2300 tons, able to carry eleven or twelve thouſand men, with every accommodation, and a numerous and heavy artillery, acroſs a turbulent, tempeſtuous ocean, for many months.

Among the many exertions of human wiſdom, few equal, none ſurpaſs, the ſkill and knowledge that have been diſplayed in the whole buſineſs of navigation.

If our ſhips ſhould be made a great deal larger, they might anſwer the purpoſe of parade and vanity, as in the caſes of the two ſhips built by the French and Spaniards, and I think it may be fairly added, of the memorable Quadraginta Remes of antiquity.

Our firſt-rates now are above 2300 tons ; our ſecond-rates above 2000 ; and one of them even 2100 tons ; our eighties from 1900 to 2000 tons ; our ſeventies from 1700 to upwards of 1800 tons ; and our ſixty-fours of above 1400 ; with calibre of guns that they now can bear very well.

But this gradual progreſs cannot be better aſcertained than by giving the ſtates of our navy through the different periods I have mentioned. Henry the Eighth left a navy of 10550 tons, conſiſting of ſeventy-one veſſels, whereof thirty were ſhips of burthen. Edward the Sixth had fifty-three ſhips, containing 11005 tons, whereof only twenty-eight were above

eighty

eighty tons. Queen Mary had only forty-ſix of all ſorts. Queen Elizabeth's conſiſted of 17,030 tons, whereof thirty ſhips were of 200 tons and upwards.

The pacific reign of James the Firſt is not more brilliant in the ſhips than, perhaps, in the other parts of it, having added only 1596 tons to the navy, left by Elizabeth. Of both theſe only eighteen were ſhips of 200 tons and upwards. Charles the Firſt added only nine ſhips, beſides the *Royal Sovereign*. But, in giving this laſt, he did great ſervice to the navy, by increaſing the ſize as well as improving the form of building them. Charles the Second, in 1684, enlarged the number as well as the ſize of them to 100,385 tons; one hundred fail of them of the line. In 1697 it was increaſed to 168,224 tons, 121 line of battle. At the end of Anne it was 147,830 tons, 131 line of battle; in 1730, 160,275 tons, 126 line of battle; at the end of 1745, 165,635 tons; but, at the end of 1782, when the American war ended, during which Great Britain had the united naval force of France, Spain, Holland, and the American States, to contend with, and did it with honour and ſucceſs, the exertion was indeed extraordinary; for, our navy conſiſted of 491,709 tons, 615 veſſels, whereof 164 were of the line, although they had increaſed nearly to their preſent magnitude.

Anſwerable to this increaſe of the ſhips was the number of our ſeamen; for, inſtead of 40,000, the uſual allotment voted for the navy, during the reign of queen Anne, and long afterwards, the aſtoniſhing number of 95,000, were frequently borne and employed on-board it during the heat of the American war; and yet we found that the merchant-ſervice was not materially hurt by that exceſſive number for the naval ſervice. Our inſular ſituation naturally diſpoſes us to trade. Expoſed to no invaſion but what muſt be made from the ſea,

we ſaw our country deſtroyed by a ſet of daring rovers, for want of a ſea force to repel them. As ſoon as our wiſer princes, in the early parts of our hiſtory, had provided this protection, the Normans, Danes, &c. ceaſed to diſturb our tranquillity.

We have ſtill no danger to dread but what muſt come to us by that element, from which our navy alone can ſecure us. Our navy muſt depend upon our commerce. Thus united, borrowing and giving ſtrength to each other, I hope all the future accounts of our navy will long continue to give the ſame ſatisfaction to a good Engliſhman that the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of it affords us.

R. WILLETT.

XIX. *The*

XIX. *The Rates of Wages of Servants, Labourers, and Artificers, ſet down and aſſeſſed at* Okeham, *within the County of* Rutland, *by the Juſtices of Peace there, the 28th Day of April, Anno Domini* 1610. *Communicated by* Thomas Barker, *Eſq. of* Lyndon.

Read Nov. 10, 1791.

Man Servants.

IMPRIMIS, a bailife of huſbandry having charge of 2 plowland at the leaſt, his wages per annum - - - - lij s.

A man ſervant, for huſbandrie of the beſt ſort, which can eire, ſow, mow, threſh, make a ricke, thacke, and hedge the ſame; and can kill a hog, ſheepe, and calfe; his wages per annum - - - l s.

A common ſervant of huſbandrie, which can mow, and cannot expertly make a ricke and thacke it, nor kill and dreſſe a hog, ſhepe, and calfe; his wages per annum - - xl s.

A meane ſervant, which can drive plow, pitch cart, and threſh, but cannot expertly ſow and mow; his wages per annum - - xxix s.

A man child under the age of xvi years; his wages per annum - - - xx s.

Women

Women Servants, their Wages.

Imprimis, a chiefe woman ſervant being a cooke, and can bake, brue, and make malt, and able to overſee other ſervants; her wages per annum - - xxvj s. viij d.

A ſecond woman ſervant of the beſt ſort, which cannot dreſſe meate, nor make malt, but brue, &c. her wages per annum - xxiij s. iiij d.

A mean or ſimple woman ſervant, which can do but out-workes and drudgery; her wages per annum - - xvj s.

A woman child under the age of xvj yeares; her wages per annum - xiiij s.

Millers Wages.

A chiefe miller which can expertly beat, lay, grinde, and governe his mill; his wages per annum - - xlvj s.

A common miller, which cannot beat and lay, but grind only; his wages per annum xxxj s. viij d.

Shepherds Wages.

A chief ſhepherd which is ſkilful in the ordering of his cattle winter and ſummer 10s.

A common ſhepherd; his wages per annum 25s.

Wages for Mowers and Harvest Folk.

	With Meat. d.	*Without Meat.* d.
A mower by the day	5	10
A man reaper	4	8
A woman reaper	3	6
A man hay-maker	4	8
A woman hay-maker	2	5
A follower of ſcythes	3	6
A raker of barley and peaſe	3	6
A hedger	4	8
A ditcher	4	8
Every other labourer not before ſet down (harveſt excepted) ſhall have from Eaſter till Michaelmas	3	7
And afterward every ſuch labourer ſhall have from Michaelmas to Eaſter	2	6

Wages for Artificers and their Apprentices, from Eaſter to Michaelmas, and from Michaelmas to Eaſter, as followeth:

Imprimis, a chief joiner by the day before Michaelmas	6	12
And from Michaelmas to Eaſter	4	8
A joiner's apprentice which hath not ſerved four years, his wages before Michaelmas	4	8
His wages from Michaelmas to Eaſter	3	6
A maſter ſawyer by the day, before Michaelmas	6	12
after Michaelmas	4	8

A plow-

		With Meat. d.	*Without Meat.* d.
A plow-wright,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A thatcher,	before Michaelmas	5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A hurdle-maker,	before Michaelmas	5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A horſe collar-maker,	before Michaelmas	6	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A free maſon which can draw his plot, work, and ſet accordingly, having charge over others, before Michaelmas - -		8	12
	after Michaelmas	6	10
A rough maſon which can take charge over others,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A maſter carpenter, being able to draw his plot, and to be maſter of work over others,	before Michaelmas	8	14
	after Michaelmas	6	10
An expert carpenter,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A carpenter's 'prentice which hath not been 'prentice four years,	before Michaelmas	3	7
	after Michaelmas	2	6
A bricklayer from Eaſter to Michaelmas		5	9
	after Michaelmas	4	8
A bricklayer's 'prentice	before Michaelmas	3	7
	after Michaelmas	2	6
A tyler or ſlater,	before Michaelmas	5	10
	after Michaelmas	4	8

	With Meat. d.	*Without Meat.* d.
A tyler or ſlater's 'prentice before Michaelmas	3	7
after Michaelmas	2	6
A turner	6	12
A gardener	6	12
A taylor	4	8

It appears, by the high conſtable's catalogues of perſons hired at the ſtatutes from 1626 to 1634, that the rate of ſervants above ſet down was then complied with.

It appears by many old papers, that in the time of James I. and Charles I. an aſſeſſment was made upon the country for proviſion for the king's houſehold. Whether this was one of the ſhifts when they would not call a parliament, or whether it had been an older cuſtom, I do not know; but I meet with it from 1622 to 1636.

Copy of the Order.

To the high conſtables of the hundred of Martinſley, in the county of Rutland, and to ei. *(either)* of them.

Theſe are in his majeſty's name, by virtue of his highneſs commiſſion to me directed, ſtraightly to will and require you, and every of you, all excuſes ſet apart, that preſently upon ſight hereof, you leavey and gather up within your ſaid hundred and the liberties thereof, capons xii, chickens xii dozen, good, large, and ſerviceable, for his majeſties moſt honourable houſehold; and alſo one buſhel of barley or oats for pullen corn. And that you cauſe the ſaid ſervice of poultry to be brought ſafe in baſkets, with their legs untied, and good ſtore of ſtraw under them for bruiſing, to the ſign of the Falcon, in Uppingham, on Monday the xith day of Auguſt, by eight of the clock in the morning. And that one of you be

there preſent, as well to ſee the ſervice diſcharged, as alſo to ſee the county diſcharged thereof. Fail you not, as you tender his majeſties ſervice, and will anſwer the contrary at your perils. Dated the iiij of Auguſt 1628.

By me EDW. DICKINSONE,
His majeſties Yeoman Purveyor for Poultry.

In conſequence of which the high conſtable ſent

AN ORDER TO THE PETTY CONSTABLES.

To the conſtables of Wing, or either of them:

Theſe are, in his majeſties name, to will and require you to gather up in your town one capon and fifteen chickens, good, large, and ſerviceable, for his majeſties moſt honourable houſehold; and alſo one peck of barley or oats for pullen corn. And that you bring them ſafe in baſkets, with their legs untied, and ſtore of ſtraw under them, to the ſign of the Falcon, in Uppingham, on Monday the eleventh day of Auguſt, by eight of the clock in the morning. Herein fail not at your peril.

ABEL BARKER,
Hambleton, Auguſt the 7th, 1628.

Other like orders there are for oats, hay, and ſtraw, and butter.

Theſe ſeem to expreſs a rate paid in kind; but ſometimes it was compounded for in money, as in the following order.

To the chief conſtables of the hundred of Martinſley, or to either of them, greeting:

Theſe are in his majeſties name to require you, to give warning to the conſtables of the towns and pariſhes in your hundred.

hundred, to collect in their ſeveral pariſhes the ſeveral ſummes underwritten, impoſed for the proviſion for his majeſties moſt honourable houſehold for this preſent year, and to pay the ſame to Abel Barker, of Hambleton, gentleman, with whom we have agreed to receive the ſaid ſums, and diſcharge the ſaid ſervice, at or before the tenth day of January next coming. And, if any refuſe to pay, that they then certifie, under their hands, the names of the perſons ſo refuſing, that ſuch order may be taken with them as heretofore in like caſes hath been uſed. Herein fail not at your peril. Given under our hands the 20th day of December 1684.

Uppingham ls.
Preſton Underwood, viiis.
Beamont Cloſes, v s. iiij d.
Park Dales, vi s. viii d.
Aſton, xxv s.
Debdale, vi s. viii d.
New Incloſure, xx s.
Preſton, l s.
Hall Cloſe, vi s. viii d.
Wing, l s.
The Incloſure, iii s. iiij d.
Manton, liiij s.
Weſton, xxxiiij s.
Wichley, and Cloſes under the town, xxiii s. iiij d.
Lindin, xxxii s.
Breaches, vi s.
Normanton, x s.
The Incloſure, xiii s. iiij d.
Hambleton, iiij lb.
Little Hambleton, xl s.
Linder Meadows, ii s.
Haunt and Cloſes under the wood, i s. iiij d.
Martinſthorp, v lb.
Sheep walk in the foreſt, xlv s.
Ridlington, xxxii s.
Old Incloſure, xxiiij s.
New Incloſure, xiii s. iiij d.
Hollogate Cloſes, ii s.

CAMPDEN,
EDWARD HARRINGTON,
HENRY MACKWORTH.

This alſo was ſent from the high conſtables to their petty conſtables, by an order ſimilar to the following :

To

To the conſtables of Hambleton, or either of them :

By virtue of a warrant, to me directed, from his majeſties juſtices of this county, theſe are therefore in his majeſties name to require and charge you, or either of you, that you levy and gather within your town and pariſh the ſumm of ii lb. xii s. vi d. impoſed upon your ſaid town ; as alſo liiij s. i d. ob. for little Hambleton, for the compoſition proviſion of his majeſties moſt honourable houſehold for this preſent year, ended the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary next, and that you pay over the ſaid ſums unto John Butler, of Okeham, gentleman, at or before the firſt day of November next, who is appointed receiver of the ſame. Hereof fail you not, as you will anſwer it at your perils. Dated at Manton, this firſt of 1629. WM. CHISSELDYNE.

But that the proviſion was ſometimes paid in kind, ſeems to appear by the following agreement :

Articles of agreement made the firſt of February 1635, between John Barker, of Hambleton, gentleman, and Richard Jacobb, of Weſtminſter, butcher.

Imprimis, Whereas John Barker is to ſerve into the king's majeſties houſe two hundred ſheep, for the county of Rutland. Now Richard Jacobb, in conſideration of 95lb. doth covenant that he will deliver into the king majeſties houſe one hundred ſerviceable ſheep, at or before the 4th of February ; and one hundred more at or before the 20th day after Eaſter.

Item, Richard Jacobb will deliver to John Barker, at or before the 18th February, a diſcharge for the firſt hundred ſheep. And, at or before the 25th of May, a diſcharge for the laſt hundred.

John Barker doth covenant, that he ſhall pay unto Richard Jacobb 90lb. at or before the 23d of April. And Richard Jacobb ſhall receive the king's price, viz. for the firſt hundred 6s. upon every ſheep, and for the laſt hundred 7s.

Warr.

Warr. Sh.

The Rates of Wages of all Manner of Artificers, Labourers, and Servants, as well by the Day, with Meat and Drinke, and without; as alſo by the whole Yeare, limited, rated, and appointed, by the Generall Quarter-Seſſions of the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, holden att Warwick, *in and for the County aforeſaide, uppon Tueſday next, after the Cloſe of Eaſter, in the Six and Thirtiethe Yare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord* Charles *the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith: and by his Maieſty's Juſtices of the Peace there aſſembled, whoſe Hands and Seals are hereunto putt, accordinge to the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, in ſuch Caſe made and provided, having a ſpecial Regard and Conſideration to the Prices at this Time of Victuals and Apparell, and all other Circumſtances neceſſary to be conſidered. From the Original in the Poſſeſſion of Mr.* John Nichols, *Printer.*

	By the Day.	
	With Meat and Drink.	Without.
	d.	s. d.
A Free maſon - - -	6	1 4
A maſter brick maſon - -	6	1 0
Their ſervants and apprentices above the age of eighteen - -	4	0 8

A maſter

	By the Day. With Meat and Drink.	Without.	
	d.	*s.*	*d.*
A maſter carpenter, ... his charge	6	1	0
Their ſervants and journeymen above the age of eighteen - -	6	1	0
Their ſervants and apprentices -	4	0	8
A plowright and cartwright -	6	1	0
A maſter bricke layer - -	6	1	0
A tyler, plaiſter, and ſhingler, -	6	1	0
A maſter plaiſterer - - -	4	0	8
Their ſervants and apprentices above the age of twelve years - -	3	0	6
A maſter thatcher - -	6	1	0
His ſervant - -	4	0	8
Fellers of wood, threſhers, and all other common labourers ; the time of harueſt excepted - -	4	0	8
The man hay-maker - -	4	0	8
The woman hay-maker - -	2	0	4
Weders of corne - -	2	0	4
Mowers of corne and graſſe -	6	1	0
A raker in corn harveſt -	3	0	6
The man reaper - -	6	1	0
The woman reaper - -	4	0	8

From the middle of September to the middle of March, one penny by the day to be abated of the wages before ſpecified.

	By the whole Year. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
The bayliffe of huſbandry taking charge, and able to diſcharge the ſame - - -	04	10	00
A chiefe hind, the beſt plowman and carter	05	15	00

	By the whole Year. £.	s.	d.
A ſhepard performing his charge -	05	00	00
Inferior ſervant man - -	02	10	00
The woman ſervant y^t^ is able to manage a houſe-holde - -	01	15	00
A ſecond woman ſervant - -	01	06	08
A dayry-maide, or waſh-maide -	01	10	00

It is obſerved by the ſtatute made in the fifth yeare of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Chapter the Fourth, theſe followinge rules are enacted (that is to ſay) :

" That refuſors to ſerve for the wages appointed are to be impriſoned.

" That all artificers and labourers, being hired by the day or week, ſhall, betwixt the midel of the months of March and September, be, and continue, at their work, att or before five of the clocke in the morning, and continue att worke, and not depart vntill betwixt ſeuen and eight of the clocke att night, except it be in the times of breakfaſt, dinner, or drinkinge ; the which times att the moſt ſhall not exceede above two houres and an halfe in the day, that is to ſay, att euery drinkinge an halfe hour ; for his dinner an hour ; and for his ſleepe, when he is allowed to ſleepe, the which is from the midſt of May to the midſt of Auguſt, halfe and houre att the moſte ; and at every breakfaſt an halfe houre ; and all the ſaide artificers and labourers, betweeen the midſt of September and the midſt of March, ſhall be, and continue att their worke from the ſpringe of the day in the morninge, untill the night of the ſame day, except it be in the time above appointed for breakfaſt and dinner uppon to looſe and forfeit on penny for every hour's abſence ; to be deducted and dealted out of his wages that ſhall ſoo offend.

" That

" That euery perſon giuinge aboue the wages appointed, ſhall ſuffer ten days impriſonment, and forfeit fiue pounds.

" That every perſon takinge aboue the wages appointed, ſhall ſuffer on and twenty days impriſonment.

" That every retainer, promiſe, gift, and payment of wages contrary to the ſtatutes, is vtterly voide, and of none effect.

SIGNED,

JOHN MORDAUNT,
CHARLES HELT,
JOHN CLOPTON
REGINALD HORSTER,
EDWARD HINTON,
BAZIL FIELDINGE,
CHARLES HOWSHAM,
THOMAS CLARKE.

XX. *Communicated by* T. W. Wrighte, *M. A. Secretary. From the Papers bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries of* London. *By the late* John Thorpe, *Esq. M. A. and F. S. A.*

Read Nov. 15, 22, 29, and Dec. 6, 1792.

[*a*] A briefe diſcourſe declaringe how honorable and profitable to youre moſt excellẽt maieſtie, and howe neceſſary and cõmodiouſe for your realme, the making of Douer Haven ſhalbe, and in what ſorte, w^t^ leaſte charge in greateſte perfection, the ſame maye be accomplyſhed.

THERE is not one thinge, moſte renowned ſoueraigne, of greater neceſſitie (to maynteyne the honor and ſafetie of this your ma^ts^ realme), then by all convenient means to en-

[*a*] This "briefe diſcourſe," addreſſed to her moſt excellent majeſty queen Elizabeth, was written, probably about the year 1582, by that moſt excellent mathematician of his time, and ſkilful engineer, "Thomas Digges, Eſquire, ſonne and "heyre of Leonard Digges, of Wotton, in the county of Kent, Eſquire, and of "Bridget his wife, daughter to Thomas Wilford, Eſquire, which Thomas de-"ceaſed the 24th day of Auguſt, Ann. Dom. 1595." Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720, B. iii. vol. I. p. 71, 72. For a more particular account of the life of this eminent perſon, ſee Wood's Athen. and the Biograph. Britannica.

creaſe

creaſe Navigation, Shipping and Maryners. Theſe beynge a ſtrength in tyme of warre, and in tyme of peace, members moſte profitable and comodious. But theſe can nether be had, increaſed, nor maynteyned, if firſt ſure harboroughes be not provided as ſafe Receptacles to receiue and garde them from ſtormes, enemyes, &c.

This hath moved that induſtryous nation of the lowe Contries in Holland, Zealand, and Flaunders [*b*], where, by reaſon of there ſandy coaſt, thoughe God hadd ſcarcely in anye place allowed them eny good havens naturall, yet ſeynge the neceſſitie and comoditie of harboroughes have, without regard of eny charges or travell, with infinite expences, made many havens artificiall, even in ſuche places as nature allmoſte denied them all hope of helpe. Whereby wee ſee they have drawne ſuche entercorſe and trafique both of forreyn nations for marchundize, and allſo by there induſtrye for fyſhinge, that in fewe years, even allmoſte in our adge, thay have byn able to build a nomber of moſte ſumptuouſe, riche, and bewtyfull citties, furnyſhed there coaſtes with great nomber of Shippes and Maryners, and were become the moſte populouſe and ritche natyon that the ſoon did ſhine upon. And not only the ſeacoaſte, butt allſoe the inlandes and contreys, by quicke vente of there comodities, doe participate of the ſame benefite and fælicitie. And ſuche there charges on havens and harboroughes beſtowed, doe yeeld them the fruyte of ritches, welth, and comoditie, moſte plentifullye thoughout ther hole domynions. But contrarywyſe with us this laſte parlyament, lamentable relation hath byn made of

[*b*] "When Queen Elizabeth ſent ſome of her forces to the aſſiſtance of the "oppreſſed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr. Digges was appointed Muſter-"maſter-general of them, whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly "ſkilled in military affairs, &c." Biograph. Brit.

the

the greate decaye of maryners and fisshermen, to the nomb of manye hundred sailes upon our coastes of England, even in this adge, and within memorie. And allso of the presente poverty, and desolate habitacon of manye fruntier townes.

Wherby yt plainely appearith, that as ye excessive expences of the Lowe Countreis bestowed in havens, hathe not ympoueriſhed, but cleane contrary greatly enriched them with incomperable wealth and treasure, with nomber of riche, faire, and populous townes. Soe our sparinge myndes, or rather gready gettinge, gayninge, and encroching land from your matie havens, and navigable chanells hath utterly destroyed and spoiled manye good havens by nature lefte us: and thereby wrought very beggery, mysery and desolation in these your fruntier townes.

And yf wee searche the very cause of ye floriſhing estate of London, which allmoste alone in quantitye, people, and wealth in this adge and Realme, ys so encreased: And contrarywyse of ye pouerty or rather beggerye and decaye of Wynchelsey, Rye, Roomney, Hide, Douer, and manye other pore townes, wee shall fynde the decaye of those havens, and preseruacon of the Temes, the onlye or chieffe occasyon.

Hereby sufficiently appearith how incomperable juells havens and sure harboroughes are, for the gayninge, maynteyninge, and encreasinge people, wealthe, and comodity in anye Realme. And noe lesse strengthe and securitie doe they bringe in tyme of warre, as well by the multitude of maryners (a moste seruyceable people) and shippinge which they breede, as allso by inhabitacon of the Fruntyers.

But in the whole circuyte of this youre mats famouse Ilande, there is not enye one, ether in respecte of securitie and defence, or of trafique and entercourse more conveniente, needefull, or rather of necessitie to be regarded then this of Douer, scituate upon

upon a Promontorye, nexte fruntinge a puyſſante forreyn kinge, and in the verye ſtraighte paſſadge and entercourſe of allmoſte all the Shippinge of Chriſtendom.

And yf that our renowmed kinge, your ma^ts father, of famous memorye Henrye 8th, in his tyme founde howe neceſſary yt was to make a haven at Douer, (when Sandwich, Rye, Camber, and others were good havens, and Calleis allſoe then in his poſſeſſyon) and yet ſpared not to beſtowe of his owne treaſure ſo great a maſſe in buildinge of that Peere [c], which then ſeemed a probable meane to performe the ſame, howe muche more is the ſame nowe needefull or rather of neceſſitie, thoſe good havens being extreemely decaied and noe ſafe harborough lefte in all the coaſte allmoſte betwene Porteſmouth and Yermowthe; ſeynge the ſame allſo may be performed without expence of your ma^te pryvate treaſure; The preſente guyfte of the parlyam^t conſidered, and there ready willes ſo plainely diſcouered to ſupply whatſoeuer charge ſhalbe needefull: whenſoeuer by your gratiouſe providence thay ſhall ſee the Realme armed with ſuche a ſhield, and endowed with ſo greate a juell.

The Commodities that therby bothe to your maieſtie and Realme ſhall enſue.

Fyrſte a place of refuge and ſavegard to all marchantes your ma^ts Subiectes paſſing from London, and all other the Eaſt and N. Eaſte partes of England, to Fraunce, Spayne, Barbery, Levante, the Ilandes or other parts South or Weſte of the world; for wante of harboroughe at Douer, either goinge furth, or returninge, ſhalbe enforced to ride yt

"[c] King Henry VIII. expended 63cool. upon a pier to reſtore the haven, but in vain." Hiſtorical Deſcription of a ſecond antient Picture in Windſor Caſtle, by John Topham Eſq. F. R. S. F. S. A. Lambarde's Perambulation o Kent, p. 147, Camden's Britannia, ed. 1789. vol. I. p. 120. Harris's Hiſt. Kent, p. 103.

out in open Rodes to the^r greate perrill : or in tyme of warres for want of ſuche ſucco^r to throwe themſelves on the contrary coaſte into the armes of there enemyes.

For all other ſtrangers your ma^ts friends that paſſe the Seas from Hamborough, Danſke, Lubicke, Emden, Scotland, Denmarke, or anye partes of the Lowe Contries to eny partes of the world South and S. Weſte, whereof there are dailie greate nombers, or of Spayne, Portugall, Fraunce, or Italy, bounde Northwarde, ether to London, or to enye of theſe Northren provincs, bothe paſſing and repaſſinge they muſt of neceſſitye touch as it were upon this Promontorye, and upon enye chandge of wynde, or feare of enemy for a ſure refuge, will moſte willinglye and thankefully ymbrace ſo ſweete and ſafe a Centuarye.

Noe Promontorye, towne or haven of Chriſtendom ys ſo placed by nature and ſcituacon, bothe to gratyfie freindes, and annoye Enemyes, as this your ma^ts towne of Dover.

Noe place or towne of Chriſtendom ſoe ſetled to receave and deliver intelligens for all m̃res and actions in Europe from tyme to tyme.

Noe towne of all the Lowe Contreis, (allthough by there induſtrie they have manye exceſſiue populouſe, faire and riche) by nature ſo ſetled ether to allure entercourſe by ſea, or to trayne inhabitants by lande, to make it great, fayre, riche, and populouſe.

For alluringe entercourſe by ſea there is ſufficient ſayd allreadye.

By lande yt hath a better ayre and water, twoe chief elements, thon all the ritch townes in Holland and Zealande.

For fier, the contrey rounde about farr better woodded then thers, and the whole ſheere wherin yt ſtandeth, and round about ye very Town it ſelf ſo well ſorted for errable and paſture

paſſure of all ſortes, for marſhe and medowe ſo well furniſhed as harte of man cañot wiſh or deſier yt better.

A Quarrie of ſtoane at hand, ſufficiente to build both towne and haven, in moſte ſufficient, large, and bewtyfull maner: There wanteth nothing by lande, ſea, or ayer, yt can be wiſhed. And if thoſe induſtrious people of the Lowe Contreis had, in all the' provinces, ſutche a Seate, with like cõmodities, theye would make it a Spectacle to the whole world, without reſpecte of charges whatſoeuer.

There wanteth nothinge but an Harborough, which made, all other partes of peoplinge, wealth and ſtrengthe, will followe of itſelf.

There wilbe ſhortly after ſuch encreaſe of Nauigation, as wee ſhalbe able to take for our owne hearrings yeerly, thoſe millions which ye Flemyngs by our ſlouth, have for manye yeares wholye converted to themſelves, as appearith by *Guiciardyne*, that fiſhinge onlye beinge none of the leaſte foundations of all there prowde townes.

A merveloufe nomber of our poore people, both by thes woorkes, till the haven bee made, and afterwards by the ſhippinge, fyſhinge &c. wilbe ymployed, who nowe for wante of worke are whipped, marked, and hanged.

The quicke utterance of cõmodities, which allwayes foloweth by encreaſe of entercourſe, will cauſe all the coaſte and ſheere to bee notably manured, and peopled, not withe poore idle, but withe paynefull induſtryous rich pſonns: a greate ornamente and cõmoditie in peace, and ſure defence in warre, the ſame beinge the fruntier neareſte coaſte.

The encreaſe of navigation, fiſhinge, and trafique, that heereby will growe, and the great wealth and cõmoditie hereof aryſinge, will not be conteyned within one ſheere alone, but powred furth into all partes of this Realme, to the greate

reliefe of the poore, and contentacon of all degrees, encreaſing of artes and occupacons; a pattern whereof wee may behould even in our nexte neighbours the Lowe Contreys, not fained in ymagination, but actuallye by them put in exequution: And greate ſhame it were for us to diſpaire attayninge that which wee ſee others, our neighbours, have atchieued before us.

As the whole Realme ingenerall, ſoe youre maieſty allſoe in reſpecte of youre perticuler revenues ſhall reape greate profyte by encreaſe of ſubſedies, which allwayes will growe greater, together with the wealth of the lande, beſides the increaſe of cuſtomes, and ſutch other revenues as ſhalbe made of the ſoile there gayned from the ſeas.

The ſheere of Kent beinge within fewe yeres growen merveloufe induſtryous in tillinge and manuringe there groundes, when they ſhall ſee ſo convenient a Porte to vent there ſuperfluous comodities, will not only encreaſe in wealth and people, but allſo yeld unto your mats coffers for tranſportacon of there exceſſe in wheate, barly, and beere, greate encreaſe of revenues: and all other ſheers taking example by them, will likewyſe growe in labour, induſtry, wealth, and people.

There can noe pitche, tarre, maſtes, cables, or other tackle for ſhippinge, paſſe from Danſke, Denmarke, or other Northern partes to Fraunce, Spayne, or Italie, but your matie havinge a ſtronge hande of ſhippinge at Dover, maye command, for money, the choice thereof before enye kinge in Chriſtendom, in tyme of peace, and in tyme of warre therby allſo diſable enemies, and contente freinds; beſides ye infinite comoditie that may happely growe, both to the whole Realme in generall, and to your maieſties coffers allſoe, by a Staple, that in tyme, with good pollecye, may bee erected there, to ſerve both Southe and North contries wt there mutuall comodities.

In

In tyme of warres howe dangerouſe attemptes maye be made with ſmale frigotts by fyer, or otherwiſe, to endanger your maieſties Nauye, where nowe yt lieth with hope ſufficiente to eſcape and returne againe before enye ſhippinge can be made out of the Temes to reſkue or revendge, the experteſt ſouldiers and ſeamen beſte knowe (*d*). But this harborough beinge made and furnyſhed w^t^ good ſhippinge, as allwayes yt wilbe, noe ſutch attempts will ever be made: the enemye beinge aſſured, howſoever the wynd blowe, upon enye alarme ether from London or Dover to be ſurpryzed, and noe hope left to eſcape.

Your ma^ty^ havinge ſhippinge at Douer, may allſoe upon all ſodaines with leſſe charge ſett furth to ſkowre the ſea of pyrates, wherby your navy of marchants will merveloufly encreaſe and floriſh, both to the greate ſtrength and wealth of the Realme, and to the great encreaſe of your ma^ts^ cuſtomes.

In like ſorte our fiſhinge navies may be maynteyned and protected, as well from pillferinge pyrates, as other violence of ſtrangers, and therby reape the benefite of your ſeas, whereby our ſtrength by ſea will merveloufly encreaſe, and great nombers of poore people ymployed, as well on land, in knitting nettes, making and mendinge both ſhipps and tackle, as allſoe in gettinge of fyſhe, a foode greatlye to releeue the

(*d*) Thomas Digges is ſaid to have written "England's Defence: a Treatiſe "concerning Invaſion; or a Brief Diſcourſe of what orders were beſt for re-"pulſing of foreign Enemies, if at any Time they ſhould invade us by Sea, in "Kent, or elſewhere," in 1599, (there muſt be a miſtake in this date, as he died in 1595, it was written probably in 1590): but not publiſhed till 1686. London, fol. in five ſheets. There was a tract of the ſame nature publiſhed at the end of his Stratioticos, edit. 1590, intituled, "A Briefe Diſcourſe what "Orders were beſt for repulſing of foraine Forces, if at any Time they ſhould "invade us by Sea, in Kent, or elſewhere." It contains only five leaves in 4to.—Biograph. Brit.

pouertie of the Realme, and exceſſiuely to encreaſe your maᵗˢ revenues, by cuſtomes of ſutch coñodities as ſhall abundantly bee broughte in for exchange of thoſe our fyſhe.

The fiſhinge navies beinge by this meanes bothe protected and greatly encreaſed: all lawes for poonyſhment and taxes for releeving idle and pore people will then ceaſe, for there ſhallbe noe perſon for age or ſicknes allmoſte ſo ympotent, but ſhall fynde heereby ſome trade wherby to get ther Lyvinge, as by example of the Lowe Contreis wee may plainelye behoulde.

What greater honor to your maᵗʸ then like as yoᵘ are (in righte of inheritance), Ladye of the narrow ſeas, ſoe to bee able in deede to maintayne yᵗ ſeyniorye, and to put the ſame in exequution at all tymes, as farre furthe as your highnes ſhall fynde convenient.

What greater honor to your maieſtie then to bee the founder of ſo notable a Monumente, lyinge in the eie of allmoſte all the ſhippinge of Europe. A thinge your maᵗˢ father aſpired at wᵗ expence of ſoe greate a maſſe of his owne treaſure.

What greater honor then to be able in tyme of peace and warre to protecte freinds, and offend enemyes more then enye other Prynce of Europe.

Seinge then it hath pleaſed God to leave unto yˢ Realme ſutch a ſcituation for a porte towne, as all Chriſtendom hathe not the like, and endowed the ſame withe all coñodities by Land and Sea, that can be wyſhed to make the harboroughe, allure entercourſe, and mayntayne inhabitants. And that the ſame once performed (in all probable diſcourſe of reaſon) ſhall bringe ſutch heapes of coñodities, not only for increaſe of your maieſtis particular revenues, but allſo of wellfare and riches to the whole Realme in generall. The ſame alſo beinge

beinge a thinge ſo needfull, or rather of neceſſitie, aſwell for ſuccoringe and protecting friends as annoyinge and offending enemyes, both in warre and peace. And that it hath pleaſed God in his providence to reſerue the ſame as an ornament of yor tyme, to be nowe performed by your maieſtie, and leaft as a moſte honorable Monument of your happy raigne to all poſteritie.

Mee thinkes, there remayneth no other deliberacon in this cafe, but howe moſt ſufficiently and with greateſt perfection poſſible, moſt ſpeedelye the ſame may bee accompliſhed.

And in diſcharge of ſome parte of my bounden duety to ye advancement of your maieſty^ts ſervice, having not only heard, by examynacon of the auncient and moſt ſkilfull maryners and inhabitants of Dover, the true eſtate of all alterations that have happened there theſe forty yeres; but allſo my ſelf ſeene and ſounded all the chanells, ſhelues, and rodes there, and ſett them down exactly in platte, having allſo conferred the ſondry opynions both of ſtrangers, and allſo of our owne nation, for the repayringe or newe makinge a perfitt haven there, and comparing the ſame w^t that myſelf haue ſeene put in execucon in ſondry places of the Lowe Contreis, for making havens artyficiall, I haue in the end reſolued vpon one form of platte, which of all other, (aſwell for the vſe and comodytie when yt is finiſhed, as for the poſſibilitie, or rather facilitie in makinge, for the probabilitye or rather aſſured certaintye of contynuance, for avoydinge greate waſt of timber, and ſavinge a greate maſſe of treaſure,) I finde and judge of moſte perfeccon. And albeyt the Flemyſhe platte, in former conference of comanyſſioners, was adiudged of all other then offred the moſte probable (*e*): yet vpon due conſideration

"(*e*) See the petition of the mayor, jurates, and commonalty of Dover, preſented "to the Lords of the Council, ſtating the importance of the harbour of Dover," &c.

deration this platt, I preſume, will appeare in all reſpects more comodiouſe, more fæcible, more aſſured to contynue: farre leſſe coaſt in maintenance, and at leaſte fiue thouſand pounds leſſe charge in makinge, as by thes articles of explanation and charge enſuynge more evidentlye maye appeare. The which I humbly preſente to yor maieſtys gratiouſe conſideracon, as a matter of greate moment, both in peace and warre, for your highnes ſeruyce, for the greate comfort of all the Navie of yor Realme, and a Monumente moſte honorable, and none of the leaſte to all poſteritie of your mats moſte proſperouſ, gratiouſ, and happye raigne.

The Commodities of the Engliſh Platte, preſented by Thomas Digges, compared withe the Flemmyſhe.

INPRIMIS, it is not haulf the charge of the Flemyſh platte, by reaſon of the chargeable foundacons allredy laied by K. Henrie the 8th wch are ymployed to ſerue this platte (*f*).

Beſides the invention of a newe Baye, to bee made of beach, oaze, and chaulke, wherby infinite waſte of tymber, and endleſſe charge of reparations ys allſoe avoyded.

II. It is more probable and aſſured aſwell in reſpecte of the backwater, which is farr greater, as of the ſituacon of the Sluce, which is farre nearer to the haven mouthe, beſides a waulle to guyde ye water wch in the Flemyſhe ys omytted.

III. It is more comodyouſe, as well in reſpecte of the vſe of that goodlye greate baye before the towne and caſtle, wch

&c. &c. preſerved by Mr. Topham, in his "Hiſtorical Deſcription of a Second "Picture at Windſor Caſtle," p. 14.

(*f*) See "Plat of the Town and Harbour of Dover, temp. Queen Elizabeth," publiſhed with "A Deſcription of an Antient Picture in Windſor Caſtle," &c. by John Topham, Eſq. F. R. S. F. S. A.

in

in the Flemmyſhe platte is quyte loſte, as of the ſludgates, wherby veſſells may paſſe to the very towne, and ſhippes ride in water contynually, that by the Flemmyſhe everye tyde lye on bare grounde.

IV. It is more aſſured, and leſſe perrilouſe, in reſpecte of convenient acceſſe for ſhipping at all tymes to reſte in ſafetye ſludd and ebbe, wch in the Flemmyſhe platte is farre otherwiſe.

V. The harboroughe leſſe perrylouſe to enter, and much ſafer within then the Flemmyſhe, as by the platte conferred wilbe manyfeſte.

VI. The charge of maintenance this worke when it is finiſhed, not the quarter of the Flem̃yſhe platte.

VII. Noe ſutch waſte of tymber as in the Flem̃yſh platt, a thinge eſpecially to bee regarded.

VIII. There wilbee ſoe mutch lande at the peere gayned from the ſea, to buylde vpon, as together with that wch your m^ty allready hathe, will yelde for twentie one yeares, or three lyves, to be leaſed, an hundreth pounde rente a yeare, and after will be to the crowne for euer warth a thouſand markes by the yeare at leaſte: beſides all ſutche revenues as in tyme to come may be made of the longe Baye, and waſte under the caſtle.

IX. The revenues of the head money and haulf paſſage, with haulf the rents aforeſaid, will well ſuffice to mayntayne theſe workes: ſo that the other moitie will growe clerely to the crowne for euer, beſides a merveloufe increaſe of cuſtome, &c.

X. The ſucceſſe of this platte not prooued by coniecture, but by evidente reaſons grounded vpon plaine experyence there allreadie wrought for thirtie yeares and more.

XI. The

XI. The haven, in full perfeccon made, cleared, and ſtronglye fortyfied, all with one charge, and ye whole not to coſte ſo mutche by fiue thouſande poundes, as the Flemmyſhe platte of a drye harboroughe onlye.

The verity of all thes articles ſhall evidently appeare by conference of the explanacon of the platte enſuynge: with the articles of the trewe eſtate of Douer haven, and all alterations happened ſynce the buyldinge and decay of the peere, ſubſcribed by the handes of the moſte auncient, ſenſible, and ſkillfull jurates, maſters, and maryners of Dover, whiche I have allſo adioyned becauſe they may ſerue

as a teſte to trye ye value of enye
plattes offered, and to diſcerne
probable and feazible,
from vaine fryvo-
louſe and
phantaſticall.

Articles explayning the Engliſh Platt of Dover Haven preſented by Thomas Digges.

INPRIMIS, there is converted to the uſe of this platt, ſo greate a parte of the peere, and other foundacons laid by your ma^tie^ father kinge Henrye 8th, as would coſte at leaſte twentie thouſand pounds yf thay were nowe to be newe made.

The Northern waull that leadeth from the Sluce to the haven mowthe, and all other workes in this platte of ſtone or tymber that are to bee newe made, are ſetled upon firme foundacons of rock, and to be wrought vnder the protection of ye peere allreadye buylt, whereby thay are ſhrowed from the radge of the ſea, and therby to be framed more eaſely and aſſuredly, and w^t^ farre leſſe chardge.

Likewyſe on the other ſide, yt is protected from the force of the ſeas wt greate ſhelues and banks of beache, wch with groins of ſmale charges may be encreaſed or mynyſhed as occaſyon ſhalbe offered.

The longe waull from the haven mowth towards the towne, hath allready, by nature, a foundacon made of 15 foote highe of beache, with oaze, ſo incorporate that it retayneth water of ytſelf.

By this præcedent allreadye offered by nature, wee meane to raize a bay 8 or 10 foote higher of the like ſubſtance: whervnto arte ſhall adioyne ſutche foorme and matter as muſte of neceſſity cauſe mutch greater perfeccon, and therby abundantly ſuffice to ſerue the purpoſe it is ordayned for.

And becauſe experience teachith, that chaulke with oaz doth ſingularly bynde, and greate clyffes and mountaynes of chaulke therto adioynynge: This Baye ſhalbe made of thoſe three ſubſtances, chaulke, beache, and oaze, which, without charg, God hath there provided and layd in redyneſſe, which ſkillfully cowched and interlaced, as by ye Modells for that purpoſe more perticulerly maye appeare, cannot but make a Bay farre more ſure, and tenfold leſſe charge then ſutche as in the Flemyſhe platte ys required.

And to the Seawarde this Baye ſhall allway be defended and garded with a maſſye banke of beache, wch by the Northren jawe of the haven mouth will allway bee maynteyned, and may with groynes of ſmale charge at pleaſure be encreaſed in what place wee lyſte.

And wheras the exceſſive waſte of pile and plank in the Flemyſhe platte, to performe ſo hudge a worke of 5 furlonge in length, wold be ſutche as yt is doubtfull whether the whole Realme be able to ſpare tymber to ſupplye, yt is noe

leſſe doubtfull allſo after they ſhall paſſe ye rocky ſoile, whether they ſhall euer with any pyling reach ſo deepe as to make a ſure foundation to ſettle there waulle vpon.

But in this worke the foundacon is allreadye ſetled and rayzed 15 or 16 foote in heighte, within 6 or 7 foote of full ſea, and the ſame allreadye by experience found ſo firme, as yt retayneth water that ſtandeth 12 or 14 foote in heighte aboue the lowe water marke. And therfore no doubt at all by arte to ſupply the ſmale worke remayninge to be fyniſhed.

Heereby ſhall be avoyded the exceſſive waſte of tymber, wch wold be not only burdenouſe and odyouſ to the whole Realme, but allſo moſte iniuryouſe to your ma^ts^ Navie; and allſo to ye whole Navie of your ma^ts^ Subiects: a matter moſte eſpecially to bee reſpected.

The mole without is allreadye rayſed by yor ma^ts^ father, with rockes 3 fadome in heighte, ther is noe more to doe, but by the ſame arte of tunbotes to raiſe the worke 2 or 3 fadome higher. For performance wherof the rockes allready ſonken, wch may be wayed up and remoued from betweene the haven and the newe Mole, will allmoſt ſuffice without farder ſeeking for them.

The Sowtherne Juttye or bullwarke will allwaye retayne ſo greate a quantitie of beache betweene the ſea and the peere, as the howſes there built, and to bee built, will neuer be in eny danger, as by evident experience theſe 40 yeares, y^t^ is moſt manyfeſt by ſucceſſe of groynes allredy made.

Allſo after thoſe 30 rodd of the Peere betwene that juttye and the Mole ſhalbe cleared, the ſea having his free courſe of ebbe and fludd through the ſame, cannot by eny meanes permitt any ſhelves or banckes of beach or ſande, to lye before the haven mowthe, for by evident experyence theſe 30 yeares,

yeares, and more yt hath byn approued, that no ſhelues of beache have euer growne or remayned longer then they have byn ſhrowded and protected by the peere. Soe that the only doubte is of ſuch beache as may repoſe it ſelf vnder the Sowtherne jawe of the haven mowth, which, by the force of the Maſter Sluce, ſhall allway be ſcowred and remooued.

This maſter-Sluce, as in the platt may beſte bee conceaued, is placed directly againſte the haven mowth, not 20 rodd diſtante from ye only place of perrill to bee clenſed, the backwater farre greater then that of the Flemmyſhe platt, his courſe firſte ſtraightned betweene the jutties to geeue him force, and then, by a waull directlye guyded and ayded to worke his beſte effecte, and ſo farre more probable, and aſſured in all reſpects then the Flemmyſhe, to clenſe the haven mowthe, wherof there is none that euer ſawe the workinge of the Sluces in the Lowe Countreis, or in Newhaven in France, that can make enye doubte.

True it is the abundance of beache is ſutche that is carried with the ſludd, as by noe groynes it is poſſible to be ſtayed, and therfore no contending by force with an enemye ſo puyſſante, but wyſely to geeue him place, and free paſſadge is the only way and then by a ſtronge backwater to purge and clenſe ſutche dregges as he ſhall leave behinde him to annoy the haven mowth. Thus will the ſludd carry him Eaſtward, farder and farder towards Sandwiche, wch hereafter will reſt in more perrill of this beache, then ever Dover ſhall, and muſte, in tyme to come, be conſtrayned by like arte to ayde them ſelves againſte yt.

This is plainely approued by the hudge groynes and black bulwarke buylt by your ma^ts^ father to ſtay the beache, which, neuertheles, after yt had filled all thoſe workes, came about the hed of the peere, howe farre ſoeuer yt was built, and

vnder ye lee and ſhadowe therof, banked it ſelf into greate ſhelues, which ſhelues and bankes of beach never contynued longer then the peere defended them: for ſo ſone as the North-eaſt end of the peere decayed, the ſea preſently removed thoſe banks of beache, and as the peere decayed more, ſoe were thoſe bankes of beach, allwayes more worne away, and neuer reſted farder furth into the ſea then they were protected by the Peere. And at this daye, there is nether bankes of beache nor ſande, that lyeth higher or farder out then yt is protected by the rockes or buyldings of the peere. As by the articles of the true eſtate of the haven, acknowledged by generall conſent of the auncient ſkillfull maſters, &c. more plainly may appeare.

A ſludgate, or locke, there is allſo made in the bight adioyninge to the maſter-ſluce, as in the platt is beſte perceaued, the whiche ſhall ſerue not only to lett in and out all ſutch veſſells as may paſſe with marchandize even up to the towne, but allſo to penne vp the backwaters to ſutch height, that ſhippes may ſafely ride a flote, ſludde and ebbe within.

Theſe kinde of lockes, or ſludgates, are vſually in many places of the Lowe Contreis, and ſhall haue in this place, therto aſſigned, a firme foundacon of chaulkie rocke to ſettle vpon. The proportion of the ſludgates and capeſtainds to wynde them open, and faſte, ſhall in Modell bee allſoe ſett downe.

The Ryver, as by the platte may beſte bee conceaued, ys turned from his old courſe, at the ſtone bridg by a double ſluce, to let him runne ether towards the caſtle, or towards Paradize, as occaſyon ſhalbe offered: towards Paradice, yt is conveied all alonge the ſtreete vnder the Clyffe, not only to ſerue all the inhabitants wt freiſhe water, but all ſo by the ſecond double ſluce, called Paradize-ſluce, to clenſe and ſcowre

at all tymes, both partes of the olde haven, named Paradize; and allſo the chanell of the newer haven, even downe to the mowthe, and will reaſonably ſuffice of it ſelf, to clenſe the mowthe, and kepe yt open, excepte by ſome radge of Eaſtern wynds, the beache growe ſodainly to a greate banke. Upon enye ſutche occaſion ſhall the Maſter-ſluce bee opened, whoſe violence willbe ſutch aſwell in reſpect of the greate waighte of the backwater, as of the depthe of his faull, and of his force, encloſed and guyded to the place, and chiefly by reaſon of the neereneſſe therunto, that it will teare vp and open the paſſadge, though it were clene cloſed vp. And ſoe, no doubt at all of a perpetuall good harboroughe for ever.

The foorme of the maſter-ſluce, and double ſluces, ſhall allſoe, in modell particularly be deſcribed.

The laſte and left ſluce of all, is that wch reſteth in the North-eaſt wall of the backwater nexte the caſtle, which may bee ether a ſluce, or litle locke, to penne vp the water, and lett boates paſſe to and froe: the vſe therof is not only to receaue water ſufficient to devide the encreaſed beach, or baſe towne, from Douer itſelf, thereby to preſerue the chief towne from eny danger of ſodaine incurſyons, but allſo to lett goe at lowe water, to ſcowre and make a good chanell all-way for ſhippes to come up to ye towne.

The ſoile woonne and gayned from the ſea, wherto your ma^ty^ iuſtly is and ſhalbe entituled, may be ſorted into 200 ground platts at the leſt, for dwellinge howſes, beſides conveniente roomes left for ſtreetes, market place, churche, &c. as in the platte is expreſſed, and euery of thoſe howſe plattes, one with another, of ſuche receyte as, beinge builte, will yelde at leſt 20 nobles rente yerely a peece, yf thay were in a towne of farre leſſe entercourſe then this is ſure to bee. And to haue a leaſe for three lyves, of ſo mutch ſoyle for a howſe platt, in a place

a place of ſuche trade to build vpon, thay cannot wante tenants at xs. rente a yeare, to buyld on there owne charges, which preſently wold yelde your ma^tie^ 100l. a yeare, and 1000 markes yearly at leaſt, after expiracõn of thoſe leaſes to the crowne for euer. Beſides all the newe baye, and that lande that yerelye will encreaſe more, vnder and beyonde the Caſtle, able to ſcituate a newe towne vpon. The ſame likewyſe to yeld you ma^tie^ and ſucceſſors a rent by ſutch as ſhalbe permitted to dwell thereon.

After this Haven and Mole ys brought to perfecc̃õn, there is noe doubte but the entercorſe of all nations will be ſo greate as your ma^tie^ ſhall haue tenaunts ynowe to inhabite and builde both the newe bay, and allſo that waſte vnder the caſtle, which beinge ſorted out into convenient ſtreetes, will ſhortly growe to bee a proper baſe towne, and yelde a greate revenue to the crowne for euer.

Nowe, that by apparante demonſtration (not grounded vpon phantaſie or coniecture, but approued by experyence and ſucceſſe for 30 or 40 yeares), I hope it is evidente that theſe workes beinge performed, the haven and rode will be ſafe, ſure, and com̃odyouſe for all ſhippinge that ſhall paſſe this frete or promontorie to repaire unto, wherof the nomber wilbe ſo greate, and entercourſe ſo notable, as yt cannot but exceſſiuely enriche and encreaſe the inhabitants, yt wilbe allſo neceſſary to conſider howe the ſame may bee fortyfied, and made of ſtrength ſufficient to withſtand enye ſodaine attempte or incurſyon of the enemye. Wherein, if this foorme of Platte deſerue enye commendacõn in reſpecte of the haven makinge; it is cheefly in this, that with one and the ſame charge the haven is both made and ſtrongely fortyfied, and every juttye, towre, and baye, dothe ſerue to a double office, both to reſiſte ye violence of the ſea, preſerue the haven, and allſo

allſo to repell the forreyn enemye, as forcebly as if the workes had byn made to y^{t} only purpoſe, as by the platte and articles enſuynge more playnely ſhall appeare.

Of the Fortification.

THIS baye, or haven of Dover, is on ether ſide, as well beyond the caſtle North-eaſt ward, as beneth the greene bullwarke South-weſtwarde, envyroned with ſoe hudge, ſteepe, and highe cliffes, as ther is no poſſibilitye for the enemye to lande, but ether on the beache againſt the peere, or towne, or ells to enter the harborough it ſelf. For landinge againſt the peere, that Southern juttie made to mayntayne the beache, doth allſo very aptely ſupply the office of a platfoorme, or bullwarke, not only with ordynance to beate into the ſea, and all the enterance betwene the mole and yt, but allſo to flanke Weſtward all the beache and landinge places there, as conveniently as yf it had byn of purpoſe made to noe other vſe.

Likewyſe the Northerne jawe of the haven mowthe beinge chefely made to encreaſe a backe of beache alonge the newe bay or banke, ſerueth not leſſe fitly for a platforme, to ſcowre all that beach along downe towards the caſtle foote, where yt is againe anſwered with the other platfoorme allreadye reſtinge at the foote of the clyffe.

And for the haven mowthe it ſelf, beſides the plattfoormes on the jutties without, there is allſoe within the haven adioyninge to the ſluce, a platt foorme planted with ordynance, directlye beatinge the enterance, in ſutche ſorte as yt is vtterly ympoſſible for enye veſſell to enter there, yt may not bee bowged by enye one of thoſe three defences; and yet is there

allſo the ſtone towre, which not only ſerueth for the ſluce howſe, but allſo to command thoſe plattformes and defend the maſter-ſluce, and beſides all thes defences, there is allſo all the ordynance from the caſtle on the one ſide, and greene bullwarke on ye other, to croſſebeate clene ouer all the baye.

The newe buildinge allſoe by the peere, beinge ſorted, as in the platt is deſcribed, beſides convenient ſtreetes for acceſſe to all the howſes, there is a place of aſſembly lefte large ynowghe to putt 1000 ſouldiers in battaill, with convenient paſſadges to marche towards the curteyns, on the ſea, with ſtreetes of capacitie ſufficient to receaue ſouldiers for defence of thoſe curteynes, ſo that there is nether Antwerpe, Fluſshing, nor eny of all there townes in the Lowe Contreis that are reputed ſtrongeſt, that towards the ſea is more forcebly fortified then this ſhalbee.

Towards the mayne, yt cannot be denyed, but yt is euery way commanded of the hills and cliffes, and therfore, what wealth and pride ſoeuer ye towne ſhall growe vnto, yt ſhall neuer be able to ſtande alone, but allwayes at devocõn of the ſoueraigne; nether can the forreyne enemy, if by eny treaſon he ſhould ſurpriſe yt euer be able to houlde and keape it againſte a kinge of Englande; and yet as ſufficiently able to defende it ſelfe from enye hoſtile invaſyon by ſea, as eny towne of Chriſtendom that is reputed moſte ſtronge and ſure.

A Com-

A Computation of the Charges of Douer Haven, accordinge to the Engliſh Platte.

The Charges of one Rodd ſquare of Waull filled to a foote in heighte.

Enſuethe.

	s.	*d.*
The hewinge of the ſtone aſhlar, and Endſtons, with artyficiall bevelinge, and lockbands, one within another, will amounte before they be at the place readye to be layed, 12d. the foot of parement meaſure; and foe for the rodde -	16	6

The endſtones ſhalbe 4 foote at leſt longe, and therfore requireth a yard and more of fillinge betwene thoſe endſtones, which muſt be doon ether with ragſtone or hewen chaulke laied in morter. Counterfortes allſo muſte be made 10 or 12 foote in length, and 3 foote brode; at the foote in every rod one of hewen chaulke, the reſt ſhalbe of oaze, beache, and other rubbiſh rammed betwene thoſe counterforts.

One barrell of Tarris will ſerue to laye three rodd, at 5s. the barrell - -	1	8
18 buſſhells of lyme, at 2d. the buſſhell, will laye one rodd - -		3
18 buſſhells of ſand, at 1d. the buſſhell, will laye one rodd - -	1	6
80 foote ragſtone, or hewen chaulke, in eury rod, to lyne the waull, and make ye counterforts, at 1d. ob. the foote - -		10
2 workemen, 6 laborers, will ſubſtantially worke one rodd ſquare a day to a foote in height, and allſo ram̃ in the core: ther wages -	7	6

	s.	d.
Some of one rodd long, one foote high -	39	8

The foure foote waull alone without counterfortes and core, will well be performed the rodd for - - - 20

The Longe Waull.

This waull is to bee made by cuttinge a trenche in ye mayne bankes of beache, which are allredy ſo bound with oaze, that they hould water, and by filling that trenche with the mudd and oaze which cloyeth now the haven. The which oaze will in ſhorte tyme, ſo combynde all the beache, as no water at all ſhall be able to drayne out, and that which is throwne vp will raize the ſame aboue the highe water marke. It muſte be myxed and interlaced with chaulke, and cowched in bevevelinge manner, accordinge to ſuche patterne and proportion as in modell is ſett downe. One rodd of this may well be performed with twoe lighters, of eight men to a lighter, in 5 daies.

There wages will amount to 20 nobles ye rodde, which is the whole charge. For the ſtuffe coſteth nothinge, and the lighters may allſo beſtowe, in that tyme, good ſtore of chaulke at the bottome of the bay, to ſtrengthen and bynde the foote therof.

The Charges of the Baies and Jutties, &c.

The firſte juttie or hedd runynge from the haven mowthe Sowth, into the ſea, is 36 rodd longe, whereof 30 rodd is of ſingle waull, beinge

	£.	s.
inge allreadie filled, ye whiche, at 20s. the rodd, 30 foote highe, amounteth vnto -	900	
The other 6 rodd to bee made into the ſea withe counterforts, and core at 39s. 8d. the rodd, 32 foote highe is - -	380	16
The end and Weſt ſide of the ſame juttie will hold 9 roddes longe, 32 foote highe, with core and counterforts, at 39s. 8d. the rodde is	571	4
Allſo betweene theſe twoe wãlles of a rodd in thickneſs there will be about 12 rodd ſolid, to be filled with beache, oaze, rubbiſh, &c. 3l. ye rodd ſolid a pece, wilbe -	36	
The Sowtherne jawe allſo of the haven mowthe to the cheyne, 8 rods longe, 30 foote highe, without core, at 20s. the rodde -	240	
Allſo the turnynge to the ſtayers of ſingle waull, without core, 8 rodd more -	240	
Allſo from the ſtayres 10 rod, wth core, at 39s. 8d. the rod, 24 foote highe -	576	
Some of this whole Jutties charge is - £2944		
The Northerne jawe and waull to the greate Sluce 28 rod longe, wt the turninge end, may be accounted at 30 rodd longe on ether ſide, and ſo 60 rod in all, wt core and counterforts at 39s. 8d. ye rodde, 24 foote highe, amounteth vnto - -	2856	
Allſo betwene thoſe waulles, about 40 ſolid rod, at 3l. the rod of core - -	120	
Some of this Baye £2976		

	£.	s.
The South baye or landfether of the great ſluce, 10 rodd on the one ſide, and 12 on the other, with ye turnynge ende, may be accounted round about 25 rodd, ye which 24 foote high, at 39s. 8d. the rodd, amounteth vnto -	1190	
Item 20 rod of core ſolid amounteth vnto	60	
Some of this baye £1250.		
The embowed bay, wherin the ſludgate to lett ſhippes paſſe to the towne ſhall ſtande, is 17 rodd on ether ſide, the ſludgate 24 foote highe, at 39s. 8d. the rodde -	795	12
The greate Sluce wt his ſtorehowſe and all engynns therto apperteyninge with your mats Statua in ye frunt for an honorable monument, that this haven was your mats arte, may coſte	1000	
The ſludgates to lett ſhippes paſſe to and fro to the towne, with the ſtone ſtayers by ye haven mowthe - -	400	
The dooble ſea waull from the Northern jutty downe to the caſtle, being made of chalk, oaze, and beach 5 rodd ouer at ye baſe, and narrowinge to the breadth of 4 rod at the toppe, wth a coffyn damme in the myddle of 6 foote at the coffyn damme bottome, and ten foote at the toppe, filled with oaze, at 10l. the rodd, being 200 rod in length, will amownt vnto -	2000	
The makinge of the dammes to keape out the ſea while the woorke is in hande, and a groyne to wynne more beach on the South ſide, and certaine milles to void the water will coſte	2000	
The whole charge of the haven according to this platte -	£13365	12s.

Of the Mole.

The buyldinge of the mole, and clearing of the 30 rodd of the peere, betweene the mol. and harborough mowthe ys performed at once, for by tunbotes thoſe ſonken rockes may both be wayed, and allſo conveyed to the mole better cheape then to ſeke them farder off,

The Charges.

	£.
5 Tunbotes havinge to euery boate 8 men, will haue for wages 40s. a day, and theſe, in 2 yeares, will verye well raize the mole to his perfection. The charge therof amounteth vnto - -	1460
150 tunnes and chaines to ſerue ye botes will coſte - -	300
The charges of the Mole - £1760.	

The turnynge of the Ryuer, and makinge of the other Sluces, may be doonne at leyſure, after the ſtreete downe to the peere is buylte: for then will euery howſe for his owne comoditie in reſpecte of freiſhe water, bee content to beare haufe charge of trenchinge the chanell, where the ryver ſhall roonne, and the ſluces will not coſte 500*l.* the makinge, excepte the townſmen growinge welthy for the bewtye of there towne lyſte to garniſh them with faire ſtone howſes, wherein thay may bee at more or leſſe charge as they lyſte.

The

The order of Proceading to make this hauen w^t^ leaſte charges in greateſt perfection.

THE firſte degree of all other is to reſolue vpon ſome one certaine platte, without the which no deliberacon can be vſed, nor reſolution made, what proportion of ſtuffe is to bee provided, nor what kinde of woorkmen entertayned. And if the platte I haue preſented to your ma^tie^ be founde in due examynacon more probable and eaſye to bee performed, more comodiouſe for vſe of ſhipping, leſſe perrylouſe for entrance, more profitable to the towne then the beſt hitherto preſented, and at leaſte twenty thouſand pounds leſſe charge. Then I thinke yt ſhalbe noe ill adviſe to reſolve on the ſame. Yf enye better may be offered, I wiſh the beſt to be ſelected. And albeit, by attentyve examynacon of all circumſtancs, I have fully ſatisfied myſelf, yet, in a matter of this ymportance, I will not by eny meanes take vpon mee ſo greate a burthen as to avowche enye thinge vpon myne owne creditt, but having heere ſett downe demonſtratively both myne opynion and the reaſons that induce me to yt, I humbly crave yt may with others be conferred, the beſte choſen, and the ſame as a platte delivered from your ma^ty^ ſpeedely, ſubſtantially, and effectually to be putt in exequution. And for the order of proceadinge in ye woorke, if this platt ſhall be choſen, I thoughte meete to adioyne theſe few notes enſuynge:

In all woorkes, whether thay be greate or ſmale, there is twoe uſual wayes to bargaine for them. The one is called by greate, when ether the whole together, or partes therof ſeuerally, for a pryce certaine are concluded, and bargayned for.

The

The other, when woorkemen of all ſortes are by daies wages intertayned, and ſo the woorke ſett forward accordinge to the platte.

In the firſte way, there neede noe treaſurer, comptroller, clearkes, purveyor^rs, nor other officers, but only a ſurveyor or overſeer, from tyme to tyme, to ſee the worke ſubſtantially and perfitlie performed, according to the platte and patterne agreed vpon.

But in ſo greate and ſtrange a worke as this, there are none that by greate will ever offer to vndertake the ſame, but they wilbe ſure to demand dooble ſo muche as happely may performe it; and will allſo, yf they bee not diligently overſeene, pynche the worke, and ether for lucre, or feare of loſſe, make yt ſo ſleightly and inſufficiently as maye vtterly ſpoile the whole.

And this, I thinke, mooued your ma^ts father rather to chooſe the ſecond way, wherin his ma^tie was exceſſively charged by multitude of officers, which were twentie at leaſte, continually in paye.

To avoid therfore both inconveniencs, a meane coorſe may be taken, in eſtabliſhing only ſutch officers as of neceſſitie muſte contynue, whiche ſhalbe verye fewe.

And for purveyo^rs for tymber, cariadges, bavyn woorkes, and tunnboord, for wardens of Carpents, Maſons, and Cupers; for Clarkes of Barrmen, Coorts, Maſons, and Carpenters, and ſutch other inferyour officers by commyſſion thay may be placed and diſcharged as occaſions ſhall arize in the works to vſe or leave them; and therby greate ſoms of money ſaved that otherwyſe ſhuld be conſumed in idle officers. But of this comyſſion I leave more particulerly to intreate, becauſe yt is allredy drawne in very convenient order.

But to ſpeede forward the weorke, yt were convenient that before the fellinge ſeaſon paſſe away, the commyſſioners meete to geue order that there bee provyſion made for tymber, aſwell for pile as planke, which muſte in diuerſe partes of the woorke bee vſed.

Allſo for tunbotes eſpeciall care muſte be had of very choice tymber to make the caſke boordes, and then muſte they bee very well ſeaſoned, for if thoſe toonns leake, and receaue water, thaye are vtterlye ymprofytable. There is litle tymber in Kent to be found for this purpoſe, excepte in the weald, but in Suſſex I thinke will beſte prouyſyon be made.

Then ſhall yt bee beſte of euery kinde of woorke to begynne a rodd or twoe, and that fyniſhed and made ſubſtantially, artificially, and in full perfection, to trye who will vndertake beſte cheape by greate, according to thoſe patterns, to fyniſh the reſte.

Likewyſe aſwell for refoormynge yf all that ſtone y^{t} hath byn miſhewen by direction of one Treewe, as alſo for newe makinge of all the reſt, y^{t} may be proponed to ſutch as (according to the modell or patterne delivered by the director of the woorks) ſhall undertake to ſquare them by the foote of Parement meaſure, at leaſt price. If enye will take it in hand better cheape then it ſhall faull out by dayes worke.

And in the meane tyme, till ſuche perſons can bee found as will bargaine for eche kind of woorke by greate, good orders muſte be ſett downe emonge the woorkmen, and there workes ſo ſorted, and ſutche preparacon made for ſtuffe convenient, that noe tyme be loſte, nor paye ymployed on idle perſonnes.

For all theſe and euery other perticularities, the commyſſioners may, from tyme to tyme, eſtabliſh or make orders accordingly, as by the overſeer of the woorkes, thay ſhalbe advertized of defaultes.

And

And thus maye the whole woorks be performed ſubſtantially, ſurely, and workemanly, and that with as ſmale charge and expences as ys poſſible.

And to the end, a fynall reſolution in this matter may bee taken, and that the worke yt ſelf, without farder delay, may goe in hand: I haue hereto allſo adioyned articles of the true eſtate of the ſame haven, with ſutch alteracions as haue happened ſythens the firſte begynninge, buylding, and decaying of the peere, wherby yt ſhalbe eaſye, even as by a tutchſtone, to trye, and certainly by reaſon to examyn the probabilitye of all plattes offered.

The articles enſue.

Articles of the true eſtate of
Douer Haven both before and ſithens y^e
building of ye Peere, w^t the alterations made
by the beach, as it is found by ye examinacion of the
moſt ſenſible, Auncient, and ſkilfull Men, by
direction of the Lord Admirall of England,
being at Douer the 21 December,
anno 1581.

Before the peere was builte out, there are men alyue can remember that there was no banckes or ſhelues of beache to be ſeene before Douer, but all cleane ſea, betwene Arteclif tower and the caſtle clyffe.

By experience it hath byn allwayes found that as the peere was built out, ſo the banckes of beach allſo beganne to growe, and lay farder out as the peere was farder built, and as the peere hath decayed, ſo theſ banckes of beache allſo haue byn ether ſcowred awaye, or dryven farder in, and that thoſe

bankes of beache never reſte farder furth into the ſea, then they are defended by the peere.

Allſo it is found that the making of groynes will euer encreaſe quantitye of beache, and the decay or pulling downe thoſe groynes, doth allſo cauſe the ſame bancke of beach to weare away ſo farre furth as the groynes are builte or taken awaye.

Allſo yt is found that the abundance of beache ys ſo greate as thay cannot bee ſtaied by enye groinds, but that they will fill the groynds, and then goe aboute them, holdinge on there courſe as the fludde caryeth them.

Allſo that there is noe other enterance or haven mowthe at this preſente, but ſutch as the ebbinge out of the ſea water, and coorſe of the ryver doth keape open.

It is allſo found by experyence that y^e^ ſame mowthe or enterance doth allwayes growe neerer and nerer towards the towne; and that in tymes paſte yt hath growne ſo neare, that by the violente radge of the ſea, paſſing through the ſame; a parte of the towne it ſelf hath byn in danger to be overthrowne.

Allſo it is found, that the beach hathe, and dothe increaſe ſtill more and more, vnder and beyond the caſtle.

Allſo y^t^ lately where 5 rodd of bavyn worke haue byn made vp of the broken peere, the beache is allſo growne out to the end therof, and ſo grow^th^ downe from thence lower and lower towards the towne warde.

Allſo it is founde that the greate rocks that were ſonken by kinge Henrie VIII. doe ſtill lye there, and are not remoued by eny violence of ſea, but by the wearing of them, or looſeneſſe of the ground vnder them, have ſonken ſomewhat lower and lower.

Allſo it is found that, parte of the peere ſtandethe on a firme rocke of chaulke, and parte on a ſofte ſoyle.

Allſo

Allſo it is apparante at this preſent, that where the beache and oaze are incorporate together in a maine ſhelf, yt ſo retayneth the water incloſed within the ſame, towards the clyffe, that there is euer a longe ſtanding poole of water, 12 foote at leaſte higher then the ſea without at lowe water.

The names of ſutch Maſters and Townſmen of Douer, as acknowledged w^t^ one Conſent, all the Articles aboue conteyned, to be verie true.

THOMAS WATTSON,
WILLIAM TYDEMAN,
THOMAS SISELYE,
JOHN HARTE,
JOHN GOULDSTONE,
WILLIAM GILBERTE,
JOHN LEGEND,
HARRY TYDEMAN,
THOMAS BROUNGER,
THOMAS HASELWOOD,
JOHN APHOWELL,
THOMAS PANTERYE.

Articles of the State of Douer Harbour reſolued vpon before Maſter Richarde Barrie, Lieutenant of Douer Caſtle, John Garret Maior of Douer, and the Jurates there, the third day of January 1581, *by the Examination of the moſte ſenſible, auncient, and ſkillfull Men and Maryners of Douer, upon certaine Queſtions or Articles proponed by Thomas Digges, Eſq. whoſe Names are ſubſcribed as followethe :*

Firſte, thay affirme that the wooden ſtaiers of the peere did lye diſtante from the end of the bavyn worke nowe newely made, ſixe roddes and foure foote.

Item, It is well remembred, that at a full ſea, a ſhippe that had drawne 18 or 20 foote water, might haue layed her ſide to the ſaid ſtaiers.

Item, thay affirme that thay haue knowne lye in the bight w^th^in the Crane, at one tyme, the Faucon, the Sacre, the Barke of Bulleyn, the Greyhound, the Roſe Lyon, the George and the Dragon of the kings. And thay well remember that ſhippes of 200, and better, have ridden there.

Item, yt is knowne, by experyence, that the ſaid ſtaiers ſtand vpon rockes of chaulke, and that is rocks of chaulke all alongeſt.

Item, thay ſay that the inward bight or old harboroughe called the Paradize, was mutche filled with oaze and beache, and that the ſame was caried out by mens hands, for to make the harboroughe better for the lodginge of Shippes.

Item, thay agree and affirme that the South and South-weſt wyndes do bringe the beache : But it paſſeth away furthe w^th^out as yt comethe, vnleſſe yt be ſtayed by groyndes.

Item,

Item, thay finde that theſe wyndes that bringeth the beache will carry away the ſame furthe onn to the caſtle as aforeſaid. And the Eaſte, and E. Northeſt wyndes be the wyndes that do moſte ſtay the beache without the peere.

JOHN GARRET, Maior of Douer,
THOMAS ANDREWE, Bailie there,
ROBERT FYNNETT,
THOMAS WATTSON,
ROGER GRYCE,
WILLIAM WELLYE,
THOMAS BRODGATE,
JOHN KNAPPE,
JOHN BARGAR,
} Jurates.

WILLIAM TYDYMAN,
RICHARD SISELYE,
COBHAM DOVES,
HARRY TEDYMAN,
JOHN LEGENT,
ROBERT BIRTE,
WILLIAM COURTNEY,
RICHARD CARTER,

THOMAS BRONGER
JOHN HARTE,
ROBERTE EDGE,
JOHN TOOKE,
JOHN GOLSBY,
THOMAS MARYCHURCH,
THOMAS HASLEWOOD,
ROBERTE FLEMYNGE.

Queſtions

Queſtions proponed by Thomas Digges, Eſq reſolued vpon by the moſt ſkillful Seamen and Maryners of Douer, as foloweth:

Queſtion. Inprimis, Howe longe the tide that cometh from the South-weſt, commonly caulled the fludd, dothe roon on his cyurſe after it is full ſea, within ye harbour. I meane howe many howres it ronneth North-eaſt before the full ſea, and how manye howres after comonlye?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, the tyde of flud contynuethe ronnynge alongeſt the ſhoare three howres at the Mole hed, and ſo alongſt to the North-eaſt, afore yt is full ſea in the harbour, and after it is full ſea in the harbour; liſtewiſe other three howres.

Queſtion. Item, how manye foote the water doth faull, or ebbe righte downe at or within the mole, before the tyde turne, I meane before the tide begynne to roon to the Sowth-weſt at ye Mole?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that it faulleth in the ſpringe ſtreames ten or eleven foote, afore the tide begynne to run backe, and at a Neape ſtreme ſeven foote.

Qneſtion. Item, whether the fludde or ye ebbe roonne ſwyfteſte at the Mole hed?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that the ebbe runneth ſwyfteſt at the Mole hed, as they well fynd by experyence.

Queſtion. Item, whether the tide that cometh from the North-eaſt, commonly called the ebbe, doe run ſwyfteſt, ether w^th^in the mole, or without the mole?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that the ebbe dothe roonne faſter and ſtronger without the Mole then w^th^in.

Queſtion.

Queſtion. Item, howe many foote the tide that cometh from ye North-eaſt, doth make the water ſwell w^th^in the Mole, aboue the lowe water marke, before the tide cominge from the Sowth-weſt, commonly called the fludd, begynne to roonne?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that it ſwelleth in ſpring ſtreames x or xi foote, and in neape ſtreames vii foote, before ye tide of fludd bee bente.

Queſtion. Item, howe many foote is the water ſwollen or raized in heighte aboue the lowe water marke by the Mole, at ſuch tyme as the tide firſte begynnethe to run from the South-weſt there?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that it ſwelleth or rayzeth in heighte aboue the lowe water by the Mole, at ſuch tyme as the tyde firſte begynneth to roonne from ye Sowth-weſt, ten or eleven foote.

Queſtion. Item, howe many foote doth the fludd raize ye water from the firſt beginning or coming from the Sowth-weſt till it hath made full ſea, and in what tyme, I mean at or within the Mole?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that in a ſpring ſtreme, at full ſea, at the Mole, it higheth or raizeth twentie or one and twentie fote water, and at a neape ſtreame, fourteene foote water.

Queſtion. Item, in the bay before the towne, and againſte the platforme, howe deepe maye yo^u^ paſſe before yo^u^ come to the firm foundacion?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that in the ſame baye it hath byn founded, and that within right over againſte the plattforme, wch wee take yo^u^ meane Penyleſbenche, yt is ſoe incorporated with oaze and beach, that we cannot driue downe to the foundacion any thinge: but at the lowe water marke

it

it hath byn proued by a barr of IX foote longe, and it reacheth not ye foundacion.

Queſtion. Item, howe longe it is ſithence the bankes of beache laye out beyond the woodden ſtairs at the peere?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that it is ſithence eny pullers of beach came out beyond ye woodden ſtaires in the peere, a twoe or three and thirtie yeres paſte, and there hath not byn enye pullers of beache ſo farre out as the ſaid ſtaiers this 18 yeares, by reaſon of the decay of the black bullwarke, and tymber worke vpon the Mole.

Queſtion. Item, howe farre beyonde the wooden ſtaires of the peere can eny man remember that the bankes of beache hath layen out towards the Molehed, and howe longe it is ſithence?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that they do well remember that bankes of beache haue lyen beyond the woodden ſtaires towards the Molehed, a three hundreth foote longe, and it is a 29 yeres paſt.

Queſtion. Item, howe farre, or howe many rodds beyonde the ſame woodden ſtaiers did the bankes of beach lye, towards the Molehed, at ſuche tyme as a parte of the ſtreetes or howſes of Douer towne were in daunger to have byn overthrown by the frettinges of the ſea?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, that at the tyme when as the howſes and ſtreetes in Douer were in danger to be taken away, there lay no beach then w^thout y^e ſtaires to the Molehed ward.

Queſtion. Item, howe highe aboue the lowe water the tide that cometh from the North-eaſt dothe commonly raize the water vnder the Mole?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered afore in the 6 and 7 queſtions.

Queſtion. Item, within the Crane, betwene the clyffe and the oaze banckes, how many foote doth yt commonly ebbe and flowe?

Anſwere. To that it is anſwered, within the Crane, in the chanell alongſt the clyffe ther ſtandeth ſtill ſix foote of water, and that it floweth vpon yt ſix foote of water more, ſo in all, at the full ſpringe tide, ther is 12 foote water, and at a neape it floweth nothinge at all there, by reaſon of the oaze and beache incorporate together without.

Queſtion, Item, at the Mole within: How many foote doth it commonly ebbe and flowe, righte vpp and downe?

Anſwer. To that it is anſwered twentie or one and twentie foote water.

Queſtion. Item whether the tide that cometh from ye North eaſt, comonly called the ebbe, doth not ronne very ſlowly within the Mole in reſpect of the courſe of the fludd withoute?

Anſwere. To that yt is anſwered affirmatively that yt dothe.

THOMAS WATSON,
JOHN HARTE,
THOMAS GOODSON,
JOHN LEGENTE,
WILLM. GILBARD,
JOHN GOLSTON,
HENRYE TYDIMAN,
JOHN TOOKE,
THO. MARYCHURCH,
WILLIAM TYDYMAN,
JAMES RYTHER,
RICHARD SYSELY,
THOMAS HASLEWOOD,
WILLM. COURTNEY,
ROBERTE HEDGE,
THO. WOODDE,
JAMES NEALLS,
THO. BRONGER.

1581.

The Occaſion and Charge of the other Plattes for Dover Haven, preſented by Thomas Digges, wt the Harborough Mowth opened croſſe the Peere. S: EST.

Foraſmutche as by ſome ſeamen it is thought more ſerviceable to lay the haven mowth rather croſſe ye peere without, then Eaſtward within, becauſe I wold be loth to geve eny ympedimt to the proceadinge of ſo ymportant a worke of your mats ſeruice, I am contente to yeld to that opynion. But this neverthelefſe is manyfeſt, that the ſame can nevr be but a tide haven not mete to receave eny of yor mats greate Shippes, nor yet to be entered at all tymes, wheras contrarywiſe if that Mole may be finiſhed, wherof the greateſt parte ys allreadye performed by kinge Henrye, yt ſhalbe a ſafe receptacle for the greateſt ſhippes at all tymes to enter, and a ſure rode for all wyndes that can blowe in the ſkie, and ſoe an incomperable jewell to this realme. Farder, wheras by laying the haven mowth croſſe the peere, eny ſhipp that myſſeth the enterance betwene the Jutties (as having ſuch croſſe currantes many in a yeare may) there is nothing but death vpon the ledge of the rockes, this Mole maye allways be a reſcue and ſafe receptacle to ſalue them that otherwiſe muſte certenlye perriſhe. Farder the indroughte that will paſſe in by ye blacke bullwarke will allſo mutch kill the fury of the croſſe tyde, and purchaſe to the harboroughe a more mild enterance. And albeit both Mole and harbōrough may well be performed with leſſe then 16000l. yet, becauſe in newe workes it is harde to perſwade a truth, the matter may be ſo ordered, as ether worke may be ſeverally ſo finiſhed as the one don ſhall not preiu-

preiudice the proceding in the other herafter. And to that end haue I framed other plattes accõmodatinge both bayes and Sluces to beſt advantage to mayntayne the harboroughs mowth croſſe the peere as is nowe deſyred, and by aide of the Mole to prevente many perrills and difficulties yᵗ otherwiſe yt wold be ſubiecte vnto, and a poſſibilitie allway lefte wᵗ meane charge to open yᵉ mowth, another way, yf this may hereafter be found ſubiecte to moe perrills then is nowe ſuppoſed. But to follow ether the Flemyſh platte, or eny other that I have yet ſene made vpon that Sowthern haven mowth, the beſte that can be hoped is a drye harboroughe for fyſſherboates, wᵗ enterance verye ſcrupulous, and that enterance myſſed, nothing but death certaine. And all poſſibility taken away without extreme charge afterward to make that Mole, wᶜʰ this realme were better geue a million, then wante. And albeit I could deliuer a greate nomber of ſondry foormes of platts, to make very good and ſure harboroughes yf yt pleaſed yoʳ matʸ without reſpecte of charge to raize waulles and make baies, where I wold appointe, yet, conſidering the charge is a thinge more eſpecially to be regarded; in all my plattes I take hold of all ſuche foundacõns allreadie laid, as any way may be ymploied to ſerue the turne, and ſoe diſpoſe yᵉ ſcituacõns allreadie laid, as any way may be ymploied to ſerue the turn, and ſoe diſpoſe yᵉ ſcituacõn of my longe bayes as they are made, and all the chanells allſo ſcowred wᵗʰ leſſe charge then the clenſinge only of the haven in the Flemyſhe platte would coſt, as by conference of the plattes thẽſelues moſte evidently ſhall appeare.

A Computacion of the Charge of Dover Haven after the other Platt with Baies of Piled Caſe Woorke.

The longe Baye that leadeth from the haven mowthe to the towne, cannot eny way bee ſoe good cheape made by ten thowſand poundes as by that forme of Baies compacte of oaze, beach and chaulke, wch I have allredy declared.

The other Jutties and Bayes wch I have wiſhed to be made of ſtoane, all, ſave the damhed, wch muſte needes be of ſtoane, may better chepe and very ſubſtantially allſo bee made of piled caſe worke, ramforced wth croſſe ſtone, the leaſt a foote thicke without planckes, as at Fluſſhinge, may bee ſene, where thay indure greater radge of ſea then at Douer.

Theſe piles muſt be 10 or 12 inches groſſe, and 25 or 30 fote longe, placed on ether ſide not 6 ynches diſtant one from another at the foote of the Baye, theſ rancks of piles ſhalbe a rodd diſtante, but at the topp they ſhall not bee 12 foote at the moſte a ſunder. They muſte be croſse bound bothe with longe beames and croſſe beames, and allſo croſſe piled, wch kinde of work the Italians call *Palificata trauata.* It is of all other moſte ſure againſt the vyolence of the ſea, and nothinge ſo chargeable as plancked worke to mayntayne.

In every rodd of length on ether ſide muſte bee 12 piles of a foote or ſomwhat leſſe groſſe, which, at 30 foote in length will amounte vnto about 14 lode of tymber, the ſaid beames and croſſe beames, together with the croſſe rancks of pile, will require in every rodd ten lodes more, ſo will the whole tymber to performe a rodd of this worke coſt at the place about 20l. li. 20

The

The workmanſhipp in making and rearing the frame, and pay for laborers to fetche ſtoane, fill and ramforce the frame, together with the yron for boltes and armynge of the piles, will coſte nighe aſmutche more, and ſo every rodd fyniſhed will coſte 40l. - - - -	li. 40

The MOLE.

In the whole Mole, together with ye blackbulw^rk^ there is 80 rodd, the wch at 40l. a rodd will amounte vnto nighe 3000l. - -	li. 3000
The charges of the Damhed to be made all of ſtone, w^t^ Slucs and Fludgats, as appearith by former accompts, will amount vnto nighe 3000l.	li. 3000
All the other Jutties and Bayes to be made of piled caſe worke will not be above 100 rod, at 40l. the rodd, 4000l. - - - -	li. 4000
The double bay to be made of oaze, beache, and chaulke, artificially cooched in due forme and proporc̄on of a ſea bay being not aboue 150 rod longe, at 20 marks the rod, amounteth vnto 2000l.	li. 2000
The ledge of rocks hereafter to be ſonken at the Molehed 15 or 16 rodd in lengthe, raized aboue the lowe water by tuñes and tũboates, maye coaſte 1000l. - -	li. 1000

SUM̃A

SUM̃A SUM̃ARUM.

13200l.

One of my later plattes hath a middle bay more then the other, but conſidering it abideth not eny pente or burden of water yt will not coſt haulf the charge of ye other bay, nevertheleſſe for that and certaine ſide ſludgates (as at Sluce in Flaunders are vſed) which are in y^t^ platt more then in my other, I allowe 1800l. as the vtmoſt ſome y^t^ will coſt more then the other, and ſo will the charge of that ſecond platte be 15000l. - - li. 15000

View of Bicknacre Priory.

XXI. *Account of* Bicknacre *Priory, in* Eſſex. *In a Letter addreſſed to the Earl of* Leiceſter, *Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries. By* John Henniker Major, *Eſq.* M. A. F. A. S. F. R. S. M. P.

Read March 7, 1793.

My Lord,

I Have the honour to preſent to the Society of Antiquaries, for their acceptance, two ſtained drawings of the North and South views of Bicknacre, Bickenacre, or Bykenacre Priory, in the county of Eſſex; and I feel particular pleaſure in addreſſing to your Lordſhip this rough ſketch of its foundation and hiſtory, as it bears no inconſiderable relation to the family of Ferrars, from which you are the lineal deſcendant.

This priory is ſituated on the confines of the two pariſhes of Danbury and Woodham Ferrars. It has formerly borne the names of the priory of Wudeham, Wodeham, or Woodham Ferrars; and under theſe appellations have been granted moſt of the charters and privileges belonging to it. Some have ſuppoſed [*a*] that it lay in the pariſh of Danbury, and this circumſtance has raiſed a doubt as to the identity of the priory under the different names of Woodham Ferrars, and Bicknacre.

The family of Ferrars having poſſeſſion of that diſtrict from them ſo called [*b*], I think it probable that their eſtate

[*a*] Tanner, Not. Mon. pp. 129, 130.
[*b*] Domeſday, Tit. Eſſex, p. 57.

might have included Bicknacre in whatever pariſh it might then have been, and the whole together might have taken the general term of Woodham Ferrars. Inſtances abound in the county of Eſſex of places called after their antient proprietors: ſuch are Woodham Ferrars, Woodham Walter, Woodham Mortimer, Tolleſhunt Malger, Mauger, or Major, and many others [*c*]. If the Ferrars family had merely a ſeigneurial right over Bicknacre, it is well known, that for the moſt part, at the eſtabliſhment of advowſons, the benefice or pariſh had the ſame boundaries with the manor. The preſent locality of the priory is, that the farm lies in the ſeveral pariſhes of Woodham Ferrars, and Danbury, with a ſmall lot in that of Woodham Walter. Thus am I informed; and that the conventual domicil, now the farm-houſe, is in the pariſh of Woodham Ferrars; that the priory is excluſively a hamlet or vill of itſelf for highways and land-tax; that it is a hamlet to the above-named pariſhes for poor's rates, and is exempted from the payment, as well of tythes as of church-rates, to Woodham Ferrars. After all circumſtances are conſidered, I cannot conceive that the houſe, or building, of the priory (whatever may have been the ſituation of a part of its demeſnes), could have ever been in any other than the pariſh of Woodham Ferrars.

At any rate, the patent of the 27th of Henry the Sixth, in the library of the College of Arms, gives pregnant teſtimony of the identity of this priory, under its different denominations. This purports to be, "Ampla confirmatio maner: terrar: et 'libertat: pro priore de Bykenacre, ſive de Wudeham, in com. 'Eſſex [*d*].' Here then we ſee this priory, under its different names, expreſsly mentioned as one and the ſame place; a reaſon ſufficiently ſtrong to remove all doubt, although we

[*c*] Domeſday, Tit. Eſſex, p. 86, Morant, &c.
[*d*] Tanner, ut ſupra.

cannot

cannot aſcertain the period at which it changed its antient for its preſent denomination. This eſtabliſhment, at leaſt as a priory, like many other ſimilar foundations, originated from the real or affected piety of king Henry the Second, after the death of Thomas Beckett [*e*]. About four or five years after that event, Maurice Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai was ſheriff of Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, two counties, till about 1657, under the care of the ſame ſheriff [*f*]. He was indebted to Henry in conſiderable ſums ariſing from the revenues of his bailiwick; from the payment of the greater part of which the king releaſed him on condition that the money were applied to the completion of this priory. We find in Tanner a record extracted from the Great Roll, 22 Henry the Second, Rott. 1. a. 'Mauricius de Tiretai reddit compotum de CC 'et quatuor XX*l.* et VI*s.* et VIII*d.* Bl [ancis] de veteri firma 'de Eſſex et Hurtfordſcira, de quibus attornatus fuit ad fa-'ciendam unam abbatiam; in theſauro C et V*s.* et X*d.* et in 'per donis per breve regis ipſi Mauricio CC et LXXV*l.* et 'IX*d.* Bl [ancis] pro eccleſia canonicorum de Wodeham, 'quæ a modo eſt dominica regis eleemoſyna.'

The ſheriff's account in the modern mode of computation, ſtood,

				£.	*s.*	*d.*
Indebted to the king	-	-		280	6	8
Per Contra.						
Paid into the Exchequer	*£.*5	5	10			
Priory of Wodeham	275	0	9			
				280	6	7
				£ 0	0	1

So that the account was then balanced between the king and the ſheriff, except one penny, which may be a venial miſtake in the tranſcriber

[*e*] Groſe's Antiq. Pref. p. 60. [*f*] Stat. 8 Eliz. c. 16.

This Priory was at firſt an hermitage, as early, at leaſt, as 1156 [*g*], when Hugo, Monk of Weſtminſter, a benefactor, was made abbot of Bury.

It was afterwards under the charter of king Henry the Second [*h*], erected into a priory of Black Canons, followers of St. Auſtin [*i*], and dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt, or, as others have it, to the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptiſt.

We can beſt judge of the extent of its original endowment, by conſidering the charters of Henry II.

By a charter of this king, dated at Writtle, addreſſed to the biſhop of London, and the juſtices, and ſheriffs, and officers of the foreſt, and to all perſons ſerving under him in the county of Eſſex, he granted this hermitage to frier Jordan, canon and hermit, and to his ſucceſſors in frank almoign, for the worſhip of God, and St. John the Baptiſt, free from all claims of affarts within a limited time paſt, as it had been conveyed to him by Robert earl of Ferrars, William his ſon, and by Maurice Fitz Geoffrey.

And by another charter of the ſame king, dated at Weſtminſter, reciting and confirming the gifts of benefactors to the abbey of St. John the Baptiſt at Wodeham, he confirms the lands and rents given by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai, being the equivalent of what was owing from him to the crown, namely, in Haningfield and in Ginga, four hides of land, of the fee of earl Warren; and in Lellinges, one hide and one virgate, of the fee of Walter, the ſon of Robert; and from the ſame fee in Norton, half a hide; and in the ſame village, half a hide of the fee of Hamon Coc; and in Wodeham, of the fee of earl Ferrars, all the rent of Anulphus, which the ſame earl W. [probably Warren] conveyed, at the particular requeſt

[*g*] Tanner.

[*h*] Monaſticon, vol II. p. 294.

[*i*] Newcourt, vol. I. 468, vol II. 205, 206.

of

of Maurice, to the priory of St. John; and in Hailefted of the fee of Warren, forty acres of land; and in Stodlega, of the fee of Gilbert de Munfichet, one carrucate of land, together with the mill of Twyford; and forty ſhillings iſſuing from the land of Wlward Cuthbert, which Robert Blundus held in Wodeham; and all that tenement of Eltenage, which Fulk de Blender conveyed to them upon the gift of Maurice, who held it of him; and a coppice which Maurice held in Stodlega; as well as a coppice in Filderneſſe wood, aſſigned by John de Duna to the ſaid abbey; as well as another coppice in Filderneſſe wood, belonging to Steple; and ſo much of the coppice of Wodeham, as Maurice held in fee, as the way goes from Birchhache towards the Eaſt, on the North ſide of the rivulet which runs near the abbey, and as far as Fulebroc; and ſo much of the coppice belonging to Maurice, lying in Wodeham, as is between the incloſure of the abbey, and the Earl's coppice.

By another charter of the ſame king, dated at Weſtminſter, he confirms all the lands and rents given by Maurice to this priory. Alſo the ſite of the abbey, with all the coppice deſcribed in the charter of the ſaid Maurice, and alſo St. Mary's church in Wodeham, in the ſame manner as is witneſſed by the charter of Robert earl of Ferrars; and in the ſame village, of the gift of Avicia, and of Roger Brito, his heir, all his rents with his coppice; and in Steple, half the church of St. Mary; and in the ſame village, a marſh, which was held by Edrick; and alſo in Chetham, three ſolidates of land, the gift of Ranulph de Mind.

By the firſt of the above charters, dated at Writtle, then a royal reſidence, not many miles diſtant from Bickinacre, the hermitage was granted in frank almoign, and acquired the properties of a conventual body. The charter is addreſſed to the biſhop of the ſee in which the priory was ſituated, as its

eccleſiaſtical ſuperintendant; to the juſtices, as the king's miniſters in civil concerns; to the ſheriffs who received the revenues of the crown; and to the foreſters, who, under the chief juſtice in Eyre, had the charge of carrying the foreſt laws into effect; offices which ſeem to embrace every point of view, in which either the intereſts of the crown, or of the mitre, could be conſidered.

As to the ſecond charter, intituled, indeed, in the Monaſticon, "A charter reciting and confirming the donation of Benefactors," it profeſſes to be a confirmation of theſe endowments only by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai, in diſcharge of his debt; for, I believe it will be found, upon an attentive peruſal of the charter, that, although other perſons may have conveyed, it was, upon a valuable conſideration, given to them by Fitz Geoffrey de Tiretai. The priory, late the hermitage, now takes a different name: it is called "Eccleſia" and "Abbacia;" both terms implying a common intereſt among ſeveral poſſeſſors.

The third charter was granted, as it ſeems, to confirm donations made to the priory by individuals. It particularizes the donation of St. Mary's church in Wodeham, by which the priory became exempted from the payment of tithes to that church.

It may be obſerved that the hermitage was liable to aſſarts [dues of the crown for foreſt lands grubbed up for culture], but that the royal charter expreſsly releaſes this new eſtabliſhment from any future demands of that nature.

The hide, and carrucate, mentioned in the above charters are ſuppoſed each to be about one hundred and twenty acres, more or leſs, without any deciſive computation. The virgate was the quarter of the hide. The ſolidate was a portion of land yielding in rent one ſhilling. The weight of money, as for inſtance, of a ſhilling, was three times heavier than at preſent, and the neceſſaries of life ten times as cheap.

Although

Although from the enumeration in the charters one cannot aſcertain what was exactly the original endowment of the priory, ſome idea may be formed of the extent of its poſſeſſions. The ſite of the priory is granted by the firſt of theſe charters. The ſecond confirms in land ſeven hides or carrucates, one virgate, and forty acres, making about 910 acres; forty ſhillings in rent, and alſo the rent of Anulphus; one mill, one tenement, and five coppices. The third confirms, in addition to the above, one advowſon, and the moiety of another; the rent of Avicia de Brito, and three ſolidates of land.

Such was the ſtate of the priory at or ſoon after its eſtabliſhment.

Lord Barrington is ſaid by Tanner to have had a chartulary of it in the year 1723, of which the following is the abſtract.

Cart. 32 Henry III. m.

Cart. 39 Henry III. m. 6.

Pat. 3 Edward I. m. 28.

Pat. 13 Edward I. pro imparcatione LX acr. in Wodeham Ferrars et Danbury.

Pat. 19 Edward I. m.

Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 20. de XC. acris terræ, cum pertinentiis in Wodeham Ferrars et Danbury, ex donationibus Rob. de Mapreſhale, Johannis de Langhurſt, et Johannis de Mulſho.

Pat. 11 Edward II. m. 1.

Clauſ. 15 Edward II. m. 39.

Eſch. Eſſex, 17 Edward II. poſt mortem comitis Pembroke.

Cart. 6 Edward III. m. 44.

Pat. 10 Edward III. p. 2. m. 3. vel. 4.

Pat. 16 Richard II. p. 2. m. 11. de hoſp. S. Ægidii Maldon huic cœnobio conceſſo.

Rec. in Scacc. 31 Hen. VIII. Trin. rot. 52.

By

By which it appears that it held 60 acres in Woodham Ferrars and Danbury formed into a park; 90 more in the ſame pariſhes given by different benefactors, and that the hoſpital of St. Giles at Little Malden, founded by ſome of our kings, was granted to this priory by Richard II. but by Edward IV. united to Bileigh abbey [*k*].

From Dr. Hutton's Collection, Newcourt thus ſpeaks of the priors of Bicknacre.

'*Ranulphus*, who is the firſt prior I meet with, died about 21 Henry III. for that king granted his licence to chuſe his ſucceſſor, as void by his death, March 27, 1237. Pat. 21 Henry III. m. 10.

'*Andreas*, the ſub-prior, was choſen April 5, following, (ibid. m. 9.) and voided it by ceſſion about 39 Henry III. for the king thereupon granted his licence for the brethren to go to a new election [Pat. 39 Henry III. m. 9.].

'*Johannes de Sancto Edmundo*, late prior of Leſnes in Kent, was elected prior of the houſe, to whom the king reſtored the temporalities 12 November, 1268. [Pat. 53 Hen. III. m. 28.] He voided this priory by ceſſion about three years after; for the king granted his licence for a new election about May 20, 1272, [Pat. 56 Hen. III.]

'*Radulphus de Dunham* ſucceeded, to whoſe election the king gave his royal aſſent June 3, following. [Ibid.]. He voided this priory by death about 1. Edward I.

'*William de Bilburgham* was elected prior of this houſe, to whoſe election the king gave his royal aſſent, and directed his letters to H. (i. e. Henry de Sandwich, biſhop of London) dated April 5, 1273. [Pat 1. Ed. I.] He voided this priory by death about 10 Ed. I. and the king granted his licence for a new choice Dec. 38, 1281.

[*k*] Tanner's Not. Mon. p. 135

'*Alan*

'*Alan de Barking*, to whom the temporalities were delivered by virtue of the king's mandate to the ſheriff of Eſſex for that purpoſe, dated Feb. 18 following. [Ibid.] This Alan enjoyed the office of prior about ſix years, and died; and the king granted his licence for a new election October the 14th, 1288.

'*Benedictus de Roffen*, to whoſe election the king gave his royal aſſent Nov. 8, and delivered the temporalities about the 25th following. [Pat. 17. Ed. I.] After he had been prior about 12 years, he voided that place by death about 29 Ed. I.

'*Robert de Blakenham* was elected by virtue of the king's licence, dated Dec. 13, 1300, [Pat. 39 Edw. I] to whoſe election the king gave his royal aſſent, and reſtored his temporalities Jan. 10 following. [Ibid.] He ſat prior here about fourteen years, and then reſigned. The king granted his licence for the choice of a ſucceſſor Feb. 8, 1314. [Pat. 8 Ed. II.

'*Robert de Rameſden*, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent Feb. 10, and reſtored the temporalities March 4 following, [ibid.] which, after he had enjoyed it about ſix years, he reſigned. The king granted his licence for electing a ſucceſſor Jan. 20, 1320. [Pat. 14. Ed. II. p. 2.]

'*Mathias de Grafton*, alias *Langeton*, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent the 27th of the ſame month and year. [Ibid] He ſat prior about three years, and then died; and the king granted a licence for chuſing his ſucceſſor March 6, 1313. [Pat. 17 Ed. II. p. 2.]

'*Reginald de Theydon*, to whom the king reſtored the temporalities June 18, 1325. [Pat. 18 Ed. II. p. 2.] He ſat prior here about twenty-ſix years, and then voided it by ceſſion, upon which the king granted his licence for electing a ſucceſſor March 7, 1340. [Pat. 15 Ed. III. p. 1.]

'*Radulph de Chiſhull*, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent on the 14th of the ſame month and year [ibid.]. He ſat prior here about twenty years, and then voided it by his death.

'*William de Purle*, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent on the 2d, and reſtored his temporalities on the 18th of December 1361. [Pat. 35 Ed. III. p. 3] He ſat prior here about thirteen years, and then died.

'*John de Thaxted*, to whoſe election made by virtue of the king's licence, dated the 6th, the king gave his aſſent on the 11th, and reſtored the temporalities the 14th of November 1375. [Pat. 49 Ed. III. p. 2.] He ſat prior about eleven years, and then died.

'*John Goſfield*, a canon of this houſe, was choſen to ſucceed, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent June 15, [Pat. 9 Rich. II. p. 2,] which was confirmed by the biſhop July 28, 1386. [Reg. Braybroke 281.] He ſat prior here about ten years, and then died.

'*William Wincheſter*, a canon alſo of this houſe, was elected, by virtue of the king's licence, Auguſt 21, 20 Richard II. 1396, to whoſe election the king gave his aſſent Sept. the 17th following, and it was confirmed preſently afterwards by Thomas Stow, LL. D. vicar-general to Robert Braybroke, biſhop of London, who was then in the parts beyond ſeas. [Reg. Braybroke, 302.]

'*Edmund Goding*,' [longo proximus intervallo,] 'was the laſt prior of this houſe, upon whoſe death, about the latter end of the reign of king Henry VII. this priory was united and appropriated to the hoſpital of St. Mary without Biſhopſgate. London.' Thus much for Newcourt's account of priors.

From the time of Richard the Second till the reign of Henry the Seventh, we find little or nothing of the priory of Bicknacre, except the patent of Henry the Sixth already mentioned

mentioned. It was a period engroſſed by the fierce contention between the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter. In the twenty-ſecond year of king Henry the Seventh, the priory now grown poor was almoſt forſaken [*m*], and upon being annexed to St. Mary's Spital without Biſhopſgate, London, four hundred pounds were paid to the king for his licence of mortmain. At this time its poſſeſſions, as appears from an inquiſition taken upon the death of Edmund Goding, the laſt prior, were [*n*], the manor of 'Bicknacre, and thirty meſſuages, three hundred acres of 'arable, forty of meadow, ſixty of wood, five hundred of 'paſture, ſixty-two of marſh, and 5l. yearly rent, with a 'court-leet and view of frank pledge, in Woodham Ferrars, 'Danbury, Norton, Steple, Chelmsford, Mayland, [*o*] Stow, 'Eaſt and Weſt Haningfield, Purle, Burnham, Downham, and 'others, reckoned worth 40l. 10s. per annum,' which, weight of coin and price of proviſion conſidered, is ſomewhat more than 300l. per annum, as to the preſent value. Perhaps it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the number of acres ſpecified is 962, which, ſubtracting 62 acres of wood, (not ſpecified in the charters of Henry the Second,) leaves 900, nearly the amount of the firſt endowment; but whether it be the ſame land does not appear. It would be curious if we could trace whether the rent of 40s. mentioned in one of the charters of Henry II. aroſe from the ſame land as that now producing 5l.; from the different value of money, and improvement in agriculture, it does not ſeem improbable.

But to proceed: the former poſſeſſions of this priory muſt have been conſiderable, as it is ſtated to be now [22 Hen. VII.]

[*m*] Tanner and Morant.

[*n*] Morant.

[*o*] Little Bicknacre, alias Bicknacre barns, in Mayland, were granted 1589 to Robert Wroth and William Wiſeman. Morant, vol. I. p. 361.

grown poor ; and indeed at the death of Goding, the laſt prior, there was only one frier remaining.

At the general diſſolution of monaſteries, this priory was granted [*p*], as part of the poſſeſſions of St. Mary's Spital, to Henry Polſted. By him it was ſold, in 1548, to Sir Walter Mildmay, and from his family it paſſed to George Barrington, Eſq. about the year 1654. It came afterwards to John Shute, Eſq. who took the name of Barrington, and from him it deſcended to William Wildman Barrington, the late lord viſcount Barrington.

The priory was purchaſed from Lord Barrington by John Strutt, Eſq. of Terling Place, in the county of Eſſex, who is the preſent Lord of the manor : but he ſold the priory farm to Mr. Tomlinſon, by whom it was ſold to Mr. Brett. Thomas Metcalfe, Eſq afterwards bought it of Mr. Brett ; ſince which it has been purchaſed by Sir John Henniker, Bart. of Newton Hall, and Stratford Houſe, both in the county of Eſſex.

Within the building of this priory is ſtill remaining a conſiderable portion of the chapel, in which are the painted figures of ſaints, with ſentences iſſuing from their mouths. Twenty years ago, as I am told, the words were legible. I endeavoured to trace their meaning in their preſent ſtate, but without effect. The antient kitchen is provided with a chimney and hearth of ample magnitude.

I ſay nothing of the exterior of the building, which is beſt repreſented by the drawing, Pl. XIII.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's very faithful,

Portman Square,
Feb. 14, 1793.

and very obedient ſervant,

JOHN HENNIKER MAJOR.

[*p*] Tanner.

XXII. *Me-*

XXII. *Memoir on the Origin of Printing. Addreſſed to* John Topham, *Eſq. F. R. and A. SS. By* Ralph Willett, *Eſq. F. R. and A. SS.*

Dear Sir,

YOUR favourable, though perhaps partial, opinion of the following Memoir on the ſubject of the origin of printing, as alſo that of another able and reſpectable friend belonging to our Society, incline me to hope for the indulgence of it in preſenting it to their peruſal.

After what had been written by Dr. Middleton and Dr. Ducarel concerning the Lambeth MSS. I little expected the ſubject would have been revived by ſuch reſpectable writers as Mr. Meerman, and Meſſrs. Bowyer and Nichols: the latter, indeed, little more than tranſcribe, for I can hardly call it copy, the ſentiments of the former; however, as they poſſeſs a conſiderable rank in literature, and explain and ſtrengthen, as far as they are able, the arguments of the other writer, they are well entitled to the obſervations I ſhall attempt to make on what they have written.

I do this the more willingly, as I believe their little tract is the only one that hath been written in the Engliſh language ſince the time of Palmer. The ſize of their book, as well as their reputation, hath induced the generality of Engliſh readers to reſt ſatisfied with what they have ſaid on a ſubject they perhaps do not feel themſelves deeply intereſted in. It would have been fairer to have ſtated the arguments uſed in the con-

futation of thoſe urged by the writers for Harlem, as well as thoſe that *ſeem* to make for their advantage.

This hath been done, with honour to himſelf, by Meerman; if the reader makes a falſe judgement on the reſult, he is only to blame himſelf: Meerman hath furniſhed him with the means of making a right one, though prejudice, in favour of his own country, hath prevented him from doing it for himſelf.

Though it may not be neceſſary to repeat all that Middleton hath urged, it may be ſo in regard to the obſervations of Ducarel; ſome of them are new, and could not occur to Middleton, as he wrote ſome time before the appearance of Ducarel's letter to Meerman[*a*]. If I am able to add any thing of my own, I ſhall think myſelf happy As I am convinced myſelf, that this pretended MS. at Lambeth hath miſled both Meerman and Bowyer, as they ſeem to rely very much on it to ſupport the claims of Harlem; in endeavouring to complete the deſtruction of all credit to it, I ſhall weaken the fabrick, by withdrawing the corner-ſtone from it.

Here follows the ſuppoſed Lambeth Record, as given by Maittaire, from Atkins's book.

"The original and growth of printing, collected out of *hiſtory*, and the records of this *kingdom*, wherein it is alſo demonſtrated, that printing appertaineth to the *prerogative royal*, and is a flower of England; by Richard Atkins, Eſq. Whitehall, April 25, 1664. By order and appointment of the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Morrice.

"Thomas Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved the then king, (Henry the Sixth,) to uſe all poſſible means for procuring a printing *mold* (for ſo it was called then) to be brought into this kingdom. The king (a good man, and

[*a*] Firſt printed in Mr. Nichols's Supplement to the Origin of Printing, 1781.

much

much given to works of this nature) readily hearkened to the motion ; and, taking private advice how to effect his deſign, concluded it could not be brought about without great ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to ſuch perſon or perſons as would draw off the workmen from *Harlem*, in *Holland*, where *John Guttenberg* had newly *invented* it, and was himſelf *perſonally* at work. It was reſolved that leſs than 1000 marks would not produce the deſired effect, towards which ſum the ſaid *archbiſhop* preſented the king 300 marks. The money being now prepared, the management of the deſign was committed to Mr. Robert Tournour, who then was of the robes to the king, and a perſon moſt in favour with him of any of his condition. Mr. Tournour took to his aſſiſtance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who, trading much into *Holland*, might be a creditable pretence as well for his going as ſtay in the Low Countries. Mr. Tournour was in diſguiſe, his beard and hair ſhaven quite off; but Mr. Caxton appeared known and public ; *they* having received the ſaid ſum of 1000 marks, went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harlem itſelf ; for the town was very jealous, having impriſoned and apprehended divers perſons, who came from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid till they had ſpent the whole 1000 marks in gifts and expences, ſo as the king was obliged to ſend 500 marks more, Mr. Tournour having written to the king that he had almoſt done his work ; a bargain, as he ſaid, betwixt him and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach this new art. At laſt, with much-a-do, they got off one of the *underworkmen*, whoſe name was Frederick Corſellis, or Courſellis, who late one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe, and ſo, the wind favouring the ſhip,

brought him ſafe to London. It was not thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London; but, by the archbiſhop's means, who had been vice-chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxon, Corſellis was carried with a guard to Oxford, which guard conſtantly watched to prevent Corſellis from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made good his promiſe in teaching how to print; ſo that, at Oxford, printing was firſt ſet up in England before there was any printing-preſs in France, Italy, or Germany, except the city of *Mentz*, which claims ſeniority of printing, even of Harlem itſelf, calling her city *Urbem Moguntinam, Artis Typographicæ inventricem primam*, though 'tis known to be otherwiſe, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it *at home* of *his brother*, and after ſet up for himſelf at Mentz."

It is ſaid, though the record doth not ſtate it, that this journey of Caxton and Tournour was performed in the year 1459: probably it was not ſooner; for the invention of the art was not known even in France, though ſo much nearer to Mentz, till the reign of Charles the Eighth, or the beginning of that of Louis the Eleventh, as appears from the authorities quoted by Salier, vol. XIV. p. 229, Acad. des Inſcriptions, and mentioned by me in a former memoir preſented by me to the Society.

Communications between the ſeveral countries of Europe were, in that early period, few and ſlow; knowledge was confined to the confeſſedly learned; and journeymen ſhoemakers, &c. had not been taught to thunder out Philippicks that rival Demoſthenes; the knowledge of this great invention, the diſcovery of printing, therefore, could not reach England ſooner, if ſo ſoon, as 1459.

Now it may be obſerved that Caxton was not in England in 1459. Bowyer himſelf, p. 11, allows that he was out of England

England from 1441 to 1471; a conſiderable part of which time he was buſied in learning the art of printing, as he ſays himſelf; he muſt, therefore, have been in the neighbourhood of Harlem, (for it was in the Netherlands that he reſided,) at the very time in which the art is ſaid to be invented there; and yet, though very expreſs in relating the invention of it at Mentz, he ſays not a word of its *prior* diſcovery, though very important, at Harlem.

To anſwer this difficulty, Meerman ſays, that this ſilence of Caxton is not to be wondered at in relation to his journey to Harlem, any more than his ſilence with regard to his own introduction of the art into England. What relation have thoſe two caſes to each other? Caxton's Polychronicon ends in 1460; the introduction of the art into England by him (if he did introduce it, which I doubt) was not till about 1474. To give ſtrength to this anſwer, the Polychronicon ſhould have come down to that year at leaſt, before the two caſes could influence each other [*b*].

But the point now conteſted is not whether Caxton introduced the art into England; it may be allowed to Bowyer that he did not, and yet the ſuſpicion, of the Lambeth MS. being a forgery, be no way leſſened by it.

I confeſs, with reſpect to myſelf, I do not believe that Caxton did introduce it, and am inclined to think that the letter ſigned Oxonides, though very ſevere on the Lambeth MS. in calling it an *idle* ſtory, contains the moſt probable account of its introduction; it may, therefore, be proper, if I do not too much treſpaſs on the patience of the Society, to give as much of it as relates to this point; it appeared, as Mr. Bowyer ſays, in the Weekly Miſcellany, April 26, 1735, ſoon after Dr. Middleton had publiſhed his little tract [*c*].

[*b*] Bowyer, p. 9. [*c*] Ibid. p 24.

I think the learned author has ſufficiently expoſed the *idle* ſtory of Frederick Corſellis, and entirely concur with *him in rejecting* it; but when he compliments Caxton with the name of our firſt printer, notwithſtanding the authority of a book printed at Oxford, and dated in the year 1468, I cannot go ſo far with him. We ſhould not pretend to ſet aſide the authority of a *plain date*, without very ſtrong and cogent reaſons; and I am afraid what the Doctor has in this caſe advanced will not appear, on examination, to carry that weight with it that he ſeems to imagine. There may be, and have been, miſtakes and forgeries in the date both of books and records too; but this is never allowed as a reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch as bear no mark of either; we cannot, from a blunder in the laſt book printed at Cambridge, infer the like blunder in the firſt book printed at Oxford; beſides, the type uſed in this our Oxford edition ſeems to be no ſmall proof of its antiquity; it is the German letter, and very nearly the ſame with that uſed by Fuſt, (who has been ſuppoſed) the firſt printer; whereas Caxton and Rood uſe a quite different letter, ſomething between this German and our old Engliſh letter, which was ſoon after introduced by De Worde and Pynſon; laſtly, the ſuppoſed year of this edition is much about the time that the printers at Mentz diſperſed and carried the art of printing with them to moſt parts of Europe. This circumſtance, joined to that of the letter, inclines me to think that *one of theſe printers might then come over to England, and follow his profeſſion at Oxford.*

Although very unwilling to take any merit from our own country, I muſt not ſuffer that partiality which I condemn in Meerman to miſlead me; I muſt therefore give up the pretenſions of Caxton, who never printed before 1474, and concur with Oxonides, as there are too many proofs of this early diſperſion

diſperſion of the printers to be withſtood; the Lactantius printed in 1465 at Subiaco; the St. Auſtin, printed in the ſame monaſtery, near Rome, probably by Sweynheim, in 1467; another tract of St. Auſtin, at Cologne, in 1467, by Zell; another book in 1468, at Tours, in France; the Bible by Bemler at Augſbourg, in 1466; and many by Spire, at Venice, in 1469; ſeveral by Sweynheim, at Rome, in 1468; are ſuch teſtimonies of this early diſperſion as render it not improbable that ſome of them might attempt a ſettlement in England, at a time when ſuch a munificent prince as Edward the Fourth filled the throne, and the nation was in perfect tranquillity; ſome of theſe migrations were probably even earlier; for, beſides the ſtrong reaſons for ſuppoſing a preſs at Harlem in 1459, Mr. Meerman [*c*] allows of one at Frankfort in 1459, by a workman of Fuſt; he ſays, *Joannes Peterſheim*, miniſter Fuſti & Schoefferi, *erexit Francofurti officinam typographicam*, 1459.

But the ſilence of Caxton himſelf in his numerous and diffuſed Colophons (for he ſeems to be a loquacious though modeſt writer in whatever concerns himſelf) is a conſiderable argument that he did not claim the honour of this introduction of the art into England. Fabian, who was a cotemporary with Caxton, and mentions expreſsly the invention at Mentz; as likewiſe Aldridge, from Anſtis's Black book of the Garter, though he ſpeaks in the ſame manner with relation to the ſame city, ſays not a word of Caxton's bringing the art to England. Why then ſhould we be wiſer at this remote period of time in giving this honour to Caxton, when it doth not appear that he ever claimed it himſelf? Ducarel adduces a new and ſtrong proof againſt this MS; he ſays, that in Archbiſhop Parker's Antiquities of the Britiſh Church,

[*c*] Page 34.

there is this MS note, written, probably, by the archbiſhop himſelf, concerning Bourchier.

" His temporibus (viz. Tho. Bourchieri) illa utiliſſima cudendi atque imprimendi libros ſcientia, Argentorati, Germaniæ civitate, inventa eſt ; etſi de authoris, loci, annique, certa veritate, inter ſcriptores magna diſſentio eſt, quam perpendant lectores [*d*]."

If Bourchier had taken ſuch a great part in the introduction of the art into England, was it not natural that the archbiſhop ſhould obſerve it in this note ? If the MS. was known to him, would he not have uſed it to give credit, not only to Bourchier, but to the ſee itſelf over which he preſided ? It muſt have been at Lambeth at this time, viz. 1572, for it was there, according to Atkins, ſo late as 1664 [*e*].

But, farther, Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ [*f*], ſays, that Bourchier did nothing remarkable during ſuch a long period as thirty-two years that he filled the See of Canterbury, except giving 120l. as a fund for ſupplying the wants of poor *ſcholars* occaſionally, and leaving 100 books to the Univerſity. There are two regiſters of Bourchier's tranſactions during this period at Lambeth, which Godwyn examined carefully ; ſurely if the archbiſhop had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing over the art to England, he could not be ſaid to have done nothing remarkable, eſpecially as it appears he was in ſome degree a lover of learning, by leaving that fund and thoſe books for promoting it ; ſome mention of this extraordinary part of his life muſt have occurred ; and yet, none is found in the regiſters.

In 1642 Ducarel ſtates that the great queſtion, between the king's prerogative of licenſing books and the Stationers

[*d*] Ducarel, p. 188. [*e*] Bowyer, p. 18.
[*f*] Edit. Richardſon, p. 129.

company, took place; Prynne, at that time a member of parliament, was one of thoſe who were employed to inveſtigate and report to the houſe the reſult of their enquiry. Prynne, after mentioning his authorities, proceeds to ſay; "Ex his teſtimoniis colligo artem impreſſoriam inventam fuiſſe in Germania circa annum 1440, publicatam et exercitam circa annum 1450." If this treaſure had been known, Prynne could not have been ignorant of it; it muſt have been brought forward on this occaſion, for it was then at Lambeth; in 1665 Sir John Birkenhead had a copy of it; but, not ſatisfied with that, he inſpected the original, then in the cuſtody of archbiſhop Sheldon, but, not finding it ſufficient to *prove what Atkins had cited it for, made no report of the MS. to the houſe.* Theſe are Bowyer's own words, p. 18.

What could he cite it for, but to prove the king's prerogative, from a king's introduction of the art at his own expence? If the ſtory of Caxton and Tournour's journey was true, the MS. muſt have mentioned it, and ſo have eſtabliſhed the prerogative: if no ſuch account appeared in it, Atkins was guilty of the moſt impudent and unprofitable forgery ever known, except Lauder's and Rowley's in our own times; and the MS. can have no weight in this enquiry; but, perhaps, he did not expect that his book would have had ſuch a ſerious enquiry into it.

If he had not depended on a more implicit belief, he ſhould have mentioned who the honourable perſon was that ſupplied him with the account of the MS; he muſt know that he was to contradict the univerſally-received opinion at that time that Caxton brought it into England; it became therefore neceſſary to give all the weight he could to this *new* account of its introduction; the honourable perſon could not be

hurt by the mention of his name, and the MS. would certainly have been benefited by this reference to another authority.

With reſpect to the ſignatures, which Middleton gives, perhaps, too much importance to, I muſt allow that they are a fallacious guide; for, though Zarot is ſaid to be the firſt inventor of them in his Terence at Milan in 1470, he certainly did not continue to uſe them; for, in his beautiful edition of Horace at that place in 1474, there are *no ſignatures*, nor are they in the Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores by *Lavagnia* in 1475, at the ſame place. Whenever they might be invented, they were ſlowly adopted, for I have no book with them ſooner than Juniani Maii de proprietate verborum priſcorum, printed at Naples by Moravus in 1475. Jenſon's Bible at Venice in 1476, hath them for the firſt time; and ſeveral others about that time employed them; but, that Zarot did not invent them for the firſt time in 1470 is proved by the Oxford book in 1468, which hath them. They were late in making their way into England. Caxton in his Dictes and Sayings of the Philoſophers in 1477 hath them not; but they appear in his Myrrour of the World in 1480; and ſeem to have been employed always afterwards by him. I have four ancient Miſſals, in which there are no ſignatures, and I am pretty certain there are none in the celebrated one belonging to the late Dutcheſs of Portland. There are none in the Speculum, either the Latin or Belgic edition; and, though they are found in the Biblia Pauperum, they ſeem to have been put there only to direct the arrangement of the *prints*, as they are placed only in an obſcure part of them. I certainly have not ſeen ſo great a number of Miſſals and MSS. as theſe gentlemen have had opportunities of doing; their account may therefore be right, : I chuſe to confine myſelf to ſuch as I have really ſeen *myſelf*, in which I find no ſignatures; but I muſt

muſt allow the uſe or omiſſion are not concluſive, although *De Laar*, and other eminent Bibliographers, lay great ſtreſs on them for aſcertaining books without dates or printers names.

But, before I quit this unfortunate ſucceſs of the MS. in proving any judicial enquiry, I muſt obſerve, that, in three years after this miſcarriage in Prynne's affair, a ſuit was inſtituted in the King's Bench, by the Company of Stationers, againſt the Univerſity of Cambridge, for printing books; the Lambeth MS. was again brought forward by the former; but rejected by the bench, who would not ſuffer it to be urged, as it reſted *only on the credit of Mr. Atkins*; what was become of the MS. itſelf, as this ſeems to imply that only Atkins's account of it was offered, and that doubted?

But the ſtrongeſt objection to this book being printed by Corſellis is, that it is ſaid to be printed on wooden types or blocks, the only mode, he ſays, then uſed at Harlem. If he reſts his faith on this foundation, he ſhould have taken care to ſee the book. Mr. Herbert, who hath continued Ames's Typographical Antiquities, not only ſaw it, but examined it carefully, and hath given a fac ſimile of the Colophon, declares not only on his own authority, but that of the moſt eminent printers to whom he ſhewed it, that it is printed with the *fuſile ſeparate metal* type, and not on wooden blocks; and if we may rely on the fac ſimile exhibited by him, we may ſafely add that it is performed with as beautiful a type as any we know from the moſt celebrated printer of that age. But, now the wooden types are mentioned, may I be allowed to ſay, with Heineken, that the time may come, when the writers on this ſubject will be aſhamed to inſiſt on them? there is no mention of them in Schoeffer's account to Trithemius. *He* only talks of wooden blocks. *Wooden* types muſt be too weak, under any management, to bear the preſs, and muſt be ſoon broken; they

could not bear waſhing and cleaning, they muſt *ſwell* with the moiſture, and *ſhrink* in drying, and ſo never preſerve their true ſhape and form for any time. We know, indeed, that they were attempted, but ſoon abandoned; and no *entire* book was, probably, ever printed with them. The notion of the *Fuſo-ſculpti*, ſo eagerly taken up by Meerman, ſeems to me to be ſtill more abſurd; and I am ſurprized that Bowyer and Nichols, eminent printers themſelves, and therefore competent to have corrected Meerman in ſuch an extravagant idea, ſhould countenance and ſupport him in it; I will venture to pronounce it *impoſſible*.

The Lambeth MS. is certainly of conſequence to Meerman; for, ſlender as the authority is, it is the only one from which we can infer there were two Guttenbergs, printers; an advantage he makes uſe of. But how is it to be inferred? Caxton and Tournour were ſent to Harlem, where *John Guttenberg* had newly invented the art, and was himſelf perſonally at work. The MS. proceeds to ſay, Mentz gained the art by the *brother* of one of the *workmen* of Harlem, who had learnt it at home of his *brother*, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf at Mentz; a pretty foundation to build two Guttenbergs upon, ſen^r and jun^r. This ſtatement is rather perplexed. But there ſhould be three Guttenbergs; for *John Guttenberg* had then *newly invented* the art *as maſter*, which, it ſeems, one of his *workmen* knew before himſelf. It ſhould be noted that poor Coſter comes in for no ſhare of the honour, though it was at Harlem he had theſe correſpondences with the woodland nymphs of the groves about that place, not twenty-five years before. It is not even ſaid this workman was *brother* to John Guttenberg, or that his name was the ſame, though it would have given ſome weight to the account. Caxton was joined with Tournour, becauſe he was known to have traded much

much into Holland, which might be a creditable *pretence* as well for his going as ſtay in the Low Countries. If, therefore, Tournour was afraid to truſt himſelf in Harlem, notwithſtanding his diſguiſe of *ſhaving his beard* and *his hair*, both of which muſt ſoon grow again, there was no reaſon to reſtrain Caxton, who was to appear *public and known*, from entering the town, and managing the deſign himſelf on the ſpot, much better than by communicating the ſecret of their journey to ſo many people as they were obliged to bribe and employ in it. It was fortunate that ſuch conſiderable ſums as they expended did not alarm the jealouſy of a people ſo attentive to prevent the art from being known. The opinion that there were two Guttenbergs doth not ſeem to be proved from this indiſtinct and conjectural account. I know of no other; and therefore cannot make the ſilence of all our Engliſh hiſtorians, Fabian, Hollinſhed, Stow, Baker, and Caxton, about it, prove that the author muſt have had his *information from one who took it from* the moſt *authentic* documents. I ſhould rather think this ſilence in theſe hiſtorians affords a contrary inference; and that we ſtill very much want ſome of theſe *authentic documents* [g].

Middleton had urged the improbability of this journey taking place when the king's affairs were in ſuch a dangerous ſtate that he might be ſaid to be fighting for his crown againſt the Duke of York. Mr. Meerman, Bowyer, and Nichols, anſwer this objection, by ſaying, that, notwithſtanding this dangerous ſtate, Henry the Sixth was able to attend to his two great eſtabliſhments of Eton college, and King's college, at Cambridge. They muſt certainly know that the king's affairs were in a very different ſtate in 1441, when theſe noble eſtabliſhments took place; when every thing was quiet, his ſituation proſperous, and ſuited to ſuch great buſineſs, from

[g] Bowyer, p. 5.

that

that which it was in in 1459, while the civil war was raging with ſuch violence as ended in the loſs of his crown to Edward early in 1461 [*b*].

Surely thoſe great erections cannot be ſaid to have been made *during all* his *troubles*, as they were performed in 1441.

We know that Henry's queen, who began Queen's college 1448, a conſiderable time after 1441, was obliged to relinquiſh her deſign on account of theſe troubles, though then only beginning, and not ſo formidable as they proved afterwards: ſuch a ſum as 1500 marks would have been more wanted for the ſupport of his war in 1459 than for the uncertain introduction of this new art, however conſiderable, into England.

But to reſume the ſubject of the two Guttenbergs. De Boze was puzzled about it, as Guttenberg is ſometimes called by that name ſimply, and at other times he is ſtyled *Geinsfleſh*. This difficulty occaſioned his writing to Shoefflin, at Straſburg. He returned him an account of his authorities that cleared it up; they are from the ancient regiſters of the chapter-houſe in the collegiate church of St. Thomas in that city, and ſeem to be atteſtations to a conveyance, in which Guttenberg is a witneſs; "Joannes dictus Gensfleiſch, *alias* nuncupatus *Guttenberg* de *Moguntia*, Argentinæ commorantes, et ſtrenuus virRutholdus deRamſtein, miles." The ſecond atteſtation is to another deed, and begins thus: "Joannes dictus Gensfleiſch, *alias Gutenberg de Moguntia*;" the firſt atteſtation is found in the volume marked B, fol. 293, and dated the 25th of March, 1441; the ſecond in the ſame volume, fol. 302, dated 17th November 1442; it is apparent that Gensfleiſch and Guttenberg were two names of the ſame man [*i*].

[*b*] Bowyer, p. 8.

[*i*] Acad. des Inſcript. Vol. XIV. p. 229.

If

If we ſhould admit the authenticity of this MS. what are we to think of the long interval from 1459 to 1468, before the nation derived any benefit from this introduction of the art into England? What became of Corſellis after his ſettlement at Oxford? Are we to be ſatisfied with this ſingle performance? In the caſe of Caxton we find a continued ſeries of printing by him; after he began to print, we find a ſucceſſion of printers bred under him, exerciſing and diffuſing the art; ſhall we think that a man, brought into England for the expreſs purpoſe of printing, and teaching to print, ſhould have been ſo unfortunate, as to leave no other memorial of his diligence, except this one inſtance; no ſcholars bred under him? for the book at St. Albans in 1480 diſcovers a type like Caxton's, and very different, though printed with fuſile metal types, from thoſe in the Oxford book in 1468. This I ſay poſitively, as I have the former book, and have examined it. Mr. Bowyer obviates this by ſaying, that, if we conſider that the Oxford printer met with ſmall encouragement, printed probably but *few* books, and *did not put his name* to them, it is no wonder that his name and memory ſhould be ſoon loſt; nor is it ſurpriſing that Caxton ſhould run away with the credit of being the firſt printer, who lived many years in great repute, printed a conſiderable number of books, and flouriſhed in the ſunſhine of a court. Where do they learn that Corſellis printed ſo few books, &c.? I am aſhamed to treſpaſs ſo much on the patience of any reader, in giving the whole of Bowyer's apology for this long ſilence; but, if I had not done it, I queſtion if I ſhould have been credited in giving a part of it only. What, did Caxton flouriſh in the ſunſhine of a court, and Corſellis not? Corſellis brought over, at the expence and order of a prince himſelf, of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, who lived twenty-three years after he was brought over,

who had the advantage of being ſo many years earlier than Caxton, when it would have been thought early even on the Continent, when the art muſt have excited more admiration and curioſity than Caxton could expect, who came fifteen years after him? when ſuch powerful patrons intereſted themſelves in his ſucceſs? and, though probably ſome of the books printed by him have been loſt, we cannot allow all of them, but this one book, to have experienced this misfortune, when we ſee ſuch a regular and numerous ſeries of theſe printed by Caxton have reached our times.

The reader hath now had the reaſons of my ſuſpecting that this MS. is a mere fable; they are, at leaſt many of them, thoſe mentioned by other writers in this diſpute; but have they been anſwered? Confident aſſertions are not anſwers; it is to connect into one view all that hath been written about it, that I unite them; though my own opinion, which I do not wiſh to intrude on any perſon, when they have examined what hath been now offered, is, that this ſtory of Corſellis reſembles very much that of Junius, about Harlem and Coſter; both of them fabricated at remote periods from the origin of the art, neither of them heard of till a Dutchman's vanity in favour of his own country, and a worſe motive in an Engliſhman, brought them forth.

Junius's Account.

"Cornelii bibliopegi, quondam famuli Laurentii Jo. fil. Harlemenſis, teſtimonium de heri ſui inventionibus; quod ſervavit *Hadr. Junius* in Batavia, p. 253, ſeq. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1588, 4to.

"Redeo ad urbem noſtram (Harlemum), cui primam inventæ iſthic artis typographicæ gloriam deberi, et ſummo jure aſſe-

rendam

rendam aio, utpote propriam et nativam : ſed luminibus noſtris ſola officit inveterata illa et quæ encauſti modo inſcripta eſt animis opinio, tam altis innixa radicibus, quas nulli ligones, nulli cunei, nulla rutra revellere aut eruere valeant ; qua pertinaciter credunt, et perſuaſiſſimum habent apud Magontiacum claram et vetuſtam Germaniæ urbem primo repertas literarum formulas quibus excuderentur libri. Utinam hic incredibilem illam dicendi vim, quæ in Carneade fuiſſe perhibetur, voto exoptare poſſem, qui nihil defendiſſe unquam quod non probarit, nihil oppugnaſſe quod non everterit, dicitur ; ut ſaltem refugam illam laudem poſtliminio revocare, et hoc quaſi trophæum erigere poſſem veri interpolator : quod ego non alio optarim, quam ut veritas rectè à poeta vetere temporis filia nuncupata, aut (ut ego ſoleo) χρονου ελεγχος, tandem detegatur, quæque juxta Democritum, altiſſimo in puteo demerſa hactenus delituit, in apertum proferatur. Si glorioſum certamen ſuſcipere non piguit Ægyptios et Phœnicas de literarum inventione, his Deo duce earum inventum ad ſe trahentibus, quando tabulas θεοχαρακτας, hoc eſt, a Deo exaratas jactant ; illis a ſe repertas Græciæ intuliſſe gloriantibus, quando Cadmus Phœnicum claſſe vectus, rudibus Græcorum populis artis illius auctor, eas commonſtravit. Rurſus ſi Athenienſes Cecropi ſuo, Thebani Lino, eandem laudem vindicant : Palamedi Argivo excogitatorum characterum gloriam Tacitus et Philoſtratus deferunt : ut Hyginus Latinorum Carmentæ Evandri matri. Si itaque controverſam dubiamque gloriam cunctæ gentes ad ſe ceu propriam rapere non erubuerunt, quid vetat quo minus indubitandæ laudis poſſeſſionem, de qua per ſocordiam avitam exturbati ſumus, quaſi poſtliminii jure repetamus ? Equidem non invidia, aut malevolentiæ ſtudio tranverſus agor, ut huic aſſeram, quod alteri derogem ac detraham. Craſſi impudentiam non imitabor, hinc Scævolæ ſanctimoniam et gravitatem affectando, illinc præ-

henſationibus favorem hominum eblandiendo: haud is ſum; corruptis arbitriis planum agere non decrevi, veritatem illam unam perſpicuam, quam uti cœleſte ſolis jubar, nulla nox, nulla caligo, quamtumvis alta, obtenebrare poteſt, exhibiturus, quantum in me eſt, idque *ſimplici ac minime fucato orationis filo*, quod illa amat. Quod ſi optimus ille teſtis eſt, auctore Plutarcho, qui nullo obſtrictus beneficio, neque alterius addictus ſtudio, libere quod ſentit loquitur et intrepide, meum teſtimonium merito locum habeat, qui nec mortuum aut hæredes, poſteroſve cognatione attingam, neque gratiam aut beneficium inde expectem, qui quicquid hujus feci, id totum ſepultis manibus pietatis ergo impendi. Dicam igitur quod accepi a ſenibus et auctoritate gravibus, et Reipub. adminiſtratione claris, quique a majoribus ſuis ita accepiſſe graviſſimo teſtimonio confirmarunt, quorum auctoritas jure pondus habere debeat ad faciendam fidem."—Now for theſe authorities.

"Habitavit ante annos centum duodetriginta Harlemi in ædibus ſatis ſplendidis (ut documento eſſe poteſt fabrica quæ in *hunc uſque diem* perſtat *integra*) foro imminentibus a regione palatii regalis, Laurentius Johannes cognomento Ædituus Cuſtoſve (quod tunc opimum et honorificum munus familia eo nomine clara hæreditario jure poſſidebat) is ipſe qui nunc laudem inventæ artis typographicæ recidivam juſtis vindiciis ac ſacramentis repetit, ab aliis nefarie poſſeſſam et occupatam, ſummo jure omnium triumphorum laurea majore donandus. *Is forte* in ſuburbano nemore ſpatiatus (ut ſolent ſumpto cibo aut feſtis diebus cives qui otio abundant) cœpit *faginos cortices* principio in literarum typos conformare, quibus inverſa ratione ſigillatim chartæ impreſſis verſiculum unum atque alterum animi gratia ducebat, nepotibus generi ſui liberis exemplum futurum. Quod ubi feliciter ſucceſſerat, cœpit animo altiora (ut erat ingenio magno et ſubacto) agi-

tare, primumque omnium atramenti ſcriptorii genus glutinoſius tenaciuſque, quod vulgare lituras trahere experiretur, cum genere ſuo *Thoma Petro*, qui quaternos liberos reliquit omnes ferme conſulari dignitate functos (quod eo dico ut artem in familia honeſta et ingenua, haud ſervili, natam intelligant omnes) excogitavit; inde etiam pinaces totas figuratas additis characteribus expreſſit. Quo in genere vidi ab ipſo excuſa Adverſaria, operarum rudimentum paginis ſolum adverſis, haud opiſtographis; is liber erat vernaculo ſermone ab auctore conſcriptus anonymo, titulum præferens, *Speculum noſtræ ſalutis*; in quibus id obſervatum fuerat inter prima artis incunabula (ut nunquam ulla ſimul et reperta et abſoluta eſt) uti paginæ averſæ glutine commiſſæ cohæreſcerent, ne illæ ipſæ vacuæ deformitatem adferrent. Poſtea faginas formas plumbeis mutavit, has deinceps ſtanneas fecit, quo ſolidior *minuſque* flexilis eſſet materia, durabiliorque: e quorum typorum reliquiis quæ ſuperfuerant conflata cœnophora vetuſtiora, adhuc *hodie* viſuntur in Laurentianis illis, quas dixi, ædibus in forum proſpectantibus, habitatis poſtea a ſuo pronepote Gerardo Thoma, quem honoris cauſa nomino, cive claro, ante paucos hos annos vita defuncto ſene. Faventibus, ut fit, invento novo ſtudiis hominum, quum nova merx, nunquam antea viſa, emptores *undique* exciret cum huberrimo quæſtu, crevit ſimul artis amor, crevit miniſterium, additi familiæ operarum miniſtri, prima mali labes, quos inter *Joannes* quidam, ſive is (ut fert ſuſpicio) Fauſtus fuerit ominoſo cognomine, hero ſuo infidus et infauſtus, *ſive alius* eo nomine, non magnopere laboro, quod ſilentum umbras inquietare nolim, contagione conſcientiæ quondam dum viverent tactas. Is ad operas excuſorias ſacramento dictus, poſtquam artem jungendorum characterum, *fuſilium typorum* peritiam, quæque alia eam ad rem ſpectant, percalluiſſe ſibi viſus eſt, captato opportuno tempore, quo non potuit magis idoneum inveniri, ipſa nocte quæ

Chriſti

Chriſti natalitiis ſolennis eſt, qua cuncti promiſcue luſtralibus ſacris operari ſolent, *choragium omne typorum* involat, *inſtrumentorum herilium ei artificio comparatorum ſupellectilem* convaſat, deinde cum fure domo ſe proripit, Amſtelodamum principio adit, inde Coloniam Agrippinam, donec Moguntiacum perventum eſt, ceu ad aſyli aram, ubi quaſi extra telorum jactum (quod dicitur) poſitus tuto degeret, ſuorumque furtorum *aperta officina*, fructum huberem meteret. Nimirum ex ea, intra *vertentis anni ſpatium*, ad annum a nato Chriſto 1442 iis ipſis typis, quibus Harlemi Laurentius fuerat uſus, prodiſſe in lumen certum eſt Alexandri Galli *Doctrinale*, quæ Grammatica celeberrimo tunc in uſu erat, cum Petri Hiſpani *tractatibus*, prima fœtura. Iſta ſunt ferme quæ a ſenibus annoſis fide dignis, et qui tradita de manu in manum quaſi ardentem tædam in decurſu acceperant, olim intellexi, et alios eadem referentes atteſtanteſque comperi. Memini narraſſe mihi Nicolaum Galium, pueritiæ meæ formatorem, hominem ferrea memoria et longa canitie venerabilem, quod *puer* non ſemel audierit *Cornelium* quendam bibliopegum ac ſenio gravem, nec octogenario minorem (qui in eadem officina ſubminiſtrum egerat) tanta animi *contentione* ac fervore commemorantem rei geſtæ ſeriem, inventi (ut ab *hero* acceperat) rationem, rudis artis polituram et incrementum, aliaque id genus, ut invito quoque præ rei indignitate *lacrymæ erumperent*, quoties de plagio inciderat mentio ; tum vero ob ereptam furto gloriam ſic ira exardeſcere ſolere ſenem, ut etiam lictoris exemplum eum fuiſſe editurum in plagiarium appareret, ſi vita illi ſuperfuiſſet : tum devovere conſueviſſe *diris ultricibus ſacrilegum caput*, nocteſque illas damnare atque execrari, quas una cum ſcelere illo, communi in cubili per aliquot menſes exegiſſet. Quæ non diſſonant à verbis Quirini Taleſii Coſ. eadem fere ex ore *librarii ejusdem* ſe olim accepiſſe mihi confeſſi. Iſta

dictare

dictare me compulit cupiditas et ſtudium defendendæ veritatis, quamvis illa odium ſui plerumque parere ſoleat; in qua tuenda potius quam ut deſerere vadimonium velim, ad ſuſcipiendum odium paratior ſim ac promptior. Nam iſtud facile ponent, qui rem ipſam ſincere et candide indagabunt et expendent, tanquam in Critolai bilance appenſam: at veritatis, quæ Dei imago quædam eſt, qui non libenter patrocinium ſuſcipiat, vix hominis appellationem mereri exiſtimo, cujus cura atque amore nihil cuiquam vel ſanctius vel antiquius eſſe debet. Tuendo veritatem et conſtabit ſuus urbi noſtræ honos, in cive ereptam inventionis pulcherrimæ gloriam recuperaturæ, et cadet eorum arrogantia, quos falſam alienæ gloriæ hæreditatem cernere non puduit, et quaſi dejectis de ponte ſexagenariis alieni juris poſſeſſionem ſuperbe uſurparunt. At vereor ut *ſurdis iſta* auribus canantur; utcunque tamen erit, juvabit me et memoriæ inventoris et gloriæ urbis pro virili conſuluiſſe, dum apud leves et veri incurioſos animos plus valet præjudicium opinionis (quod antea quoque teſtatus ſum) quam cum ratione auctoritas. Quæ injuria muſſitanda eſt et devoranda parum lubentibus. Quanquam dolendum minus foret eam laudem in clariſſimam Germaniæ urbem, velut aliam in familiam, tranſiſſe, ſi non *plagio*, ſed recta ratione factum id fuiſſet. Verum arbitror ſatis volentibus hanc viam commodiſſimam viſam, uti citiſſime ad nitorem ſuum ac perfectionis culmen perveniret inventum illud, orbi ſale (quod dicitur) et ſole magis neceſſarium, nimirum in majore luce hominum, per ſtudia, magnatum præmia, et honores (quibus artes aluntur) facilius emerſurum, uti accidiſſe res docuit, quam in extremo orbis terrarum ſeceſſu quodam et recondito angulo, inter hominum privatorum ſordes [*a*]."

The faireſt, and I believe the moſt ſatisfactory way, will be to inſert the obſervations at the foot of the reſpective au-

[*a*] Meerman, tom. II. p. 89—95.

thorities

thorities adduced to ſupport the claims of Harlem and Mentz. That of Junius ſhould be the firſt taken notice of; it is the fulleſt, and probably was the firſt, and on which all the ſubſequent ones have been taken; the account hath been given: as Malinkrot hath been very particular in his obſervations on it, I will give what he ſays, although it may be thought tedious.

He aſks why Coſter made choice of the *bark*, not the wood, of the beech tree, to make his letters on; the bark muſt be too tender for the office aſſigned to them: Secondly, as Coſter was carving ſingle letters on this bark, for the uſe and inſtruction of his *grand children*, whether he could hope to make with his knife, on *ſuch* materials, ſuch correct letters as any ſchoolmaſter would have ſupplied him with? how he could diſpoſe theſe letters, ſo as to compoſe a *word*, eſpecially, as he owns, in another place, that *printers* ink was not then found out; (to whieh I muſt add, how could ſuch tender materials bear the ſtroke of the *printing preſs?)* and even, when he had improved his bark types into *leaden* ones, ſimply, and not hardened with other metals, they muſt be found unequal to this great preſſure; but his ſurprize is increaſed when he conſiders the number to be ſo great, even after the theft by Fuſt, as to make veſſels for *holding liquors*, he thinks it would have been more natural to have preſerved them, and added ſuch new ones as might be wanted to carry on ſuch a *lucrative trade* as he allows it to have been; beſides, theſe veſſels made with the reliques of the printing *apparatus*, muſt be made with very durable wood to have laſted till the time of Junius, about 140 years, and even Coſter's houſe muſt have been well built, as they were then moſtly of wood, to have laſted ſo long; but this houſe, and theſe veſſels, ſeem to have been unknown to thoſe early writers, who treated the ſubject of

of early printing, long before Junius took it up: he urges that Fuſt took his time wrong in committing the theft on Chriſtmas day, as that feſtival was more likely to encreaſe the number of idle people, whoſe curioſity to diſcover ſomething of an art ſo carefully concealed, expoſed *Coſter's* houſe to more danger then, than at any other time, and ſhould have redoubled his vigilance; he obſerves, that *Fuſt*, very abſurdly, encumbered his flight with ſuch a vaſt load (Chevillier ſuppoſes not leſs than 1000lb.) which, as he was acquainted with the ſecret of the art, he might ſo eaſily ſupply himſelf with, to any place he might fly to; and probably, without a *crime*, have eſtabliſhed himſelf in; that after his flight, and getting out of a *walled* town, and that better guarded at that time than commonly, on account of the riots and debauchery incident to ſuch a feſtival, he ſhould ſtop at Amſterdam, within two hours eaſy walk, where he might be ſpeedily apprehended, as the intercourſe between the two towns was inceſſant; that he ſhould then proceed no farther than Cologn, where he might be ſecured; and laſtly, to Mentz, where he was allowed to ſettle quietly, and without moleſtation, or complaint to any magiſtrates about the robbery; he might thus recover all his types, &c. (if he could not do without them) and have renewed the profits of ſuch a beneficial trade, inſtead of *weakly* giving them up, and converting the remainder of his ſtock into drinking veſſels, or veſſels for holding liquors; but it is laughable to hear an old fellow, Cornelius, fellow ſervant with Fuſt at Coſter's, and then *eighty* years old, threatning what he would do with Fuſt if he lived a little longer, and could meet with him; the theft was in 1441, and Fuſt lived till 1466, twenty-five years after the theft, long enough to have allowed Cornelius time to execute theſe threats, and when he certainly was better able

to execute them. Malinkrot's obſervations are, perhaps, ſufficient to invalidate this account of Junius: I ſhall only obſerve, that this account of Junius is ſuch a piece of *oratory* as is unneceſſary in an inveſtigation of truth, and ſeems to be built chiefly on *popular* opinion. As he appears to be diffident himſelf of the ſucceſs of his teſtimony, he muſt allow us to be more ſo.

On this ground of *popular opinion*, ſo many other places (at leaſt fifteen in number) having put in their claim, I am not ſurprized to find this from Harlem, which hath better pretenſions than any of them, except Mentz and Straſburg, to this honour. If the Lambeth record is allowed, it is deciſive; but though the credit of that authority is, I hope, conſiderably weakened, it is poſſible that the practice of printing was very early introduced there, and that by *Guttenberg*; in its proper place I ſhall give my reaſons for thinking ſo.

The next voucher for Harlem is, that of Theodorus Volckardus Coornhertius, in dedicatione Belgicæ verſionis Tullii Officiorum, edit. Harlem 1561.

Addreſſing himſelf to the *Senate of that town*, he ſays:

'Viri ſpectatiſſimi prudentiſſimique, ſæpe mihi *bona fide* narratum eſt, utiliſſimam artem Typographicam in hac urbe Harlemenſi, etſi modo perquam rudi, inventam eſſe; emendare enim inventa et ad majorem gradum perfectionis perducere facilius eſt, quam nova invenire. Poſtea hanc artem ſervus quidam perfidus Moguntiam tranſtulit, ibique perfectiorem reddidit, et huic ſimul urbi inventionem hujus artis, ſimulatque fama ejus rei divulgata eſſet, conciliavit; adeo ut cives noſtri, quando hunc honorem vero inventori adſcribunt, vix apud *quemquam fidem inveniant*, cum tamen res ipſa a *multis* in *noſtra urbe*, propter notitiam *certiſſimam* omnino credatur; et a civibus *veteranis*

nis cunctis extra omnem dubitationis aleam ponatur. Neque me fugit, famam illam de *Moguntia* ob majorum noſtrorum incuriam temerariam omnium mentibus tam *altis infixam eſſe radicibus*, ut nullum argumentum, quamvis evidentiſſimum, certiſſimum, et *invictiſſimum* fuerit, inveteratam illam opinionem ex illorum animis evellere queat. Sed quoniam veritas, etiamſi paucis ſit nota, veritas tamen manet, idcirco ego quoque rem modo narratam certiſſimam eſſe credo, convictus teſtimoniis fide digniſſimis *virorum ſenio et authoritate gravium*, qui non ſolum de familia inventoris Harlemenſis, ſed etiam de ejus *nomine et cognomine* me ſæpe certiorem reddiderunt; imo primum impreſſionis modum rudiorem deſcripſerunt, et primi *Typographi* ædes indice digito olim monſtrarunt. Itaque non invidia honoris alieni, ſed amore veritatis inductus, intermittere haud potui, quin hanc rem ad gloriam promeritam urbi noſtræ vindicandam paucis attingerem. Hæc honeſta et juſta honoris cupido videtur etiam in cauſa fuiſſe, cur typographia in hac urbe ad inſtar ſurculi e radicibus arboris vetuſtæ denuo efflorverit atque incepta fuit. Etenim ſæpe contiget, ut *cives noſtri* in *congreſſum*, *colloquiumque* venientes, quererentur, alios hoc honore immerito frui, atque adhuc a *nemine* poſt *illud tempus* (ſic illi *ne ullo quidem contradicente* loquebantur) hanc artem in noſtra urbe exercitam eſſe. His quotidianis dictis effectum eſt id, ut ego ſociique mei, qui honeſtum laborem otio preferunt, conſilium de typographia Harlemi conſtituenda in hujus urbis honorem, aliorum emolumentum noſtrumque commodum abſque ullius hominis damno promovendum, ceperimus."

This flouriſhing account was publiſhed twenty-ſeven years before that of Junius, and probably ſuggeſted the other by him: Junius, however, embelliſhed it with many particulars ſeemingly unknown to Volckard, though writing ſo re-

cently before him ; he thought proper to bring in the beachen letters on bark, and Coſter's ſolitary walk in the wood, &c. though the former ſays not a word of Coſter himſelf.

This teſtimony goes no further than to eſtabliſh the general and popular belief at Harlem ; he honeſtly owns that he did not expect to overcome the prejudice in favour of Mentz, he may therefore allow us to retain ours in favour of that city, until better authorities than theſe adduced by him are produced. Guicciardin's account is the next to be noticed, and is as follows, in ſpeaking of Harlem :

" In hac urbe, non modo juxta publicam *incolarum*, aliorumque *Hollandorum* vocem, ſed et ſcriptores *quoſdam*, aliaque monumenta, inventa primum ars fuit imprimendi, et literas characterefque in chartam transferendi, hodie recepta. Verum auctore ante perfectam evulgatamque artem *defuncto*, hujus *famulus*, ut *narrant*, Moguntiam abiit, ubi eandem in lucem prodiens perbenignè fuit exceptus. Illic autem data porro arti eſt opera tanta cum diligentia atque induſtria, ut ad integram ejus cognitionem plenamque perfectionem ventum fuerit, unde divulgata poſt hac tandemque inveterata eſt fama, natam ea in urbe artem ſcientiamque impreſſoriam. Quid hac in parte vero ſit conſentaneum judicare nec poſſum nec volo, ſufficere arbitratus, aliquid ea de re *obiter* commemoraſſe, ne iſti urbi, regionique gravis ſim."

In this account he acquits Fuſt of the ſuppoſed robbery, and gives a more reaſonable account of the ſettlement of the art at Mentz. It may be obſerved that he gives no opinion of his own, but ſeems diffident of the claim of Harlem ; indeed, if he had been more decided, I ſhould give but little credit to his opinion, given at ſuch a diſtance of time and place from the invention. Guicciardin wrote in Italy, long after the diſcovery of the art (120 years), and ſpeaks of it only ſlightly *(obiter)*,

(obiter), in his deſcription of the Low Countries; it is only incidently introduced, and in that general way as would not ſettle a diſpute that exerciſed the pens of the ableſt writers, who lived in the neighbourhood, and nearer the time of the invention, and who were treating it *profeſſedly* at that time.

If any farther proof ſhould be thought wanting to invalidate the force of Guicciardin's account, it may be inferred from a book mentioned by Maittaire, ſuppoſed by him to have been printed in 1471. It is to be found in the Colophon to an edition of Pliny's Epiſtles, and is as follows.

"Sine loco et typographo; ſed in editoris epiſtolâ dedicatoriâ leguntur hæc; "Ludovicus Carbo Sal. Plu. dicit illuſtriſſimo et excellentiſſimo principi Borgio, duci Mutinæ ac Regii, marchioni Æſtenſi, comitique Radigii. Gratulari licet ſæculo noſtro, dive Borſi, dux præſtantiſſime; in quo certè optimarum artium ſtudia maximè floreant; eloquentia et legitima illa eruditio ſuum tandem decus agnoſcat; in priſtinamque dignitatem reſtituta ſit, adeò latè pateat Romana et Græca facundia ut jam et Galli et Britanni bonos oratores et poëtas habere videantur: ad quam quidem rem commodiſſimum adjumentum præſtiterunt nobiliſſima *Germanorum* ingenia, *qui* artificioſiſſimas imprimendorum librorum formas *excogitârunt*, ut ſapientiſſimorum auctorum plurima ſimul eodem temporis momento volumina in promptu eſſent; omneſque utiliſſimi codices et in magnâ copiâ et in leviore ſumtu parari poſſent. Imprimiſque has Plinii ſecundi Junioris Epiſtolas operâ meâ emendatas correctaſque impreſſionibus miſi, ut quod rariſſimum eſſe ſolebat, jam commune omnibus fieri incipiat." Mihi probabile videtur hunc librum excuſum fuiſſe à Chriſtophoro Valdarfer, in cujus typographeô Ludovicus Carbo correctoris munere fungebatur." Maittaire, tom I. edit. ſec. p. 302, note 5; and De Bure, from a copy in the Duc de la Valiere's library,

library, are of the ſame opinion; and fix the edition in 1471 much earlier, and ſurely of more weight than Guicciardin's account in favour of Harlem, above an hundred years after, even if it can be tortured to give countenance to the claim of Harlem.

The next, and the ſtrongeſt, in favour of Harlem is, Ulrici Zell teſtimonium, quod ſervavit Auctor Chronici Urbis Coloniæ, anno 1499.

" Item hæc ars digniſſima primum inventa eſt in Germania Moguntiæ ad Rhenum, magnoque Germanicæ nationi honori cedit, tam ingenioſos homines illic reperiri. Accidit autem illud circa annum 1440, et ab eo tempore uſque ad annum 1450, perfectior reddita eſt ars, et quicquid eo pertinebat. Anno autem 1450, qui Jubilæus erat cœptum eſt imprimi, primuſque liber qui excuderetur, *Biblia* fuere *Latina*, impreſſaque ea ſunt *ſcriptura grandiori*, quali nunc Miſſalia ſolent imprimi. Quamvis autem ars reperta fuerit *Moguntiæ*, ut diximus, eo modo qui hodie communiter uſurpatur, prima tamen ejus *præfiguratio* inventa eſt in *Hollandia*, *ut patet* ex *Donatis*, qui *ibi ante id tempus excuſi ſunt*; atque ab illis et ex illis deſumtum eſt dictæ artis *initium*, ita tamen ut multo præſtantior et ſubtilior poſterior hæc inventio priori fuerit, et magis magiſque excultior reddita. Auctor quidam Omnibonus dictus, ſcribit in præfatione Quintiliano præmiſſa, aliiſque in libris, Gallum aliquem, nomine Nicolaum Genſon, primum egregiam hanc artem reperiſſe; quod tamen aperte falſum eſt. Superſunt enim adhuc in vivis qui teſtari poſſunt Venetiis libros excuſos fuiſſe, priuſquam Nicolaum Genſon illuc adveniſſet, ubi typos ſculpere et præparare cepit. Verum *primus* typographiæ inventor civis fuit Moguntinus, patria Argentinenſis, dictus Joannes Guttenberg, eques. Moguntia autem dicta ars primo *Coloniam* delata eſt, poſtmodum Argentinum,

tinum, ac deinceps *Venetias*. Initium et progreſſum hujus artis narravit mihi honorabilis magiſter, *Ulricus Zell*, de Hanau, impreſſor Coloniæ hoc ipſo adhuc tempore anno 1499, cujus beneficio ars hæc Coloniam delata eſt. Reperiuntur ſcioli aliquot, qui perhibent, jam *olim* libros impreſſos eſſe, ſed veritati illud repugnat; nuſquam enim terrarum libri eo tempore excuſi reperiuntur."

There are, I think, two different authorities in this account; the firſt, that of *Zell*, which may have conſiderable weight; the other is that of the author of the Chronicle; that, perhaps, deſerves very little, as will be ſeen by the teſtimonies I ſhall adduce of the moſt reſpectable German writers; he ſays the art was carried to Cologn by this *Zell*, and yet we know of no book printed there, and that not by him, earlier than 1470, unleſs a very curious one, given to us by Meerman, is allowed to have been printed there: it is a little tract of St. Auſtin, "de Singularitate Clericorum," in 1467; the Colophon doth not ſay *where* it was printed; but, taking it for granted, from the author of this Chronicle, that *Zell* was the firſt printer at Cologn, Meerman gives it to that city; he ſays it was carried firſt to *Cologn*, then to Straſburgh; all the writers agree it was carried firſt to Straſburgh; and if dates determine the queſtion, we know the Straſburgh Bible is in 1466, and that there are others ſtill earlier from that preſs; he then carries the art to Venice; the firſt book printed there is by John Spire, only in 1469; the Lactantius, at a monaſtery near Rome, is in 1465; the St. Auſtin in 1467; the Speculum Roderici Zamorenſis in 1468, the Oxford book, if the date is allowed, in the ſame year; the Bible at Augſburgh, and the book at Tours, ſtill earlier. In ſuppoſing the art to be carried by Jenſon, he muſt extend the æra another year, for we know of no edition by him before 1470, when the art was diffuſed almoſt every where. Such is the ig-

norance of this writer, on a ſubject he ſhould have been better acquainted with before we give him credit for aſcertaining the riſe and progreſs of printing; eſpecially, as his account is ſo late as 1499, fifty years from its real origin; when, from the little communication between countries, ſome miſtakes may eaſily be ſuppoſed to happen in the hiſtory of this art. It is well that the exiſtence of an earlier Bible than that of 1462 by Fuſt, ſeems to be eſtabliſhed by a better authority; though I am not certain that thoſe copies of it hitherto produced have done it.

The Donatus ſaid to be printed in *Holland*, (for he doth not ſay Harlem, or a word about Coſter, though the mention of the latter was ſo natural,) from the fragments that have been ſeen of it, is allowed to be on wooden blocks, and may therefore be claimed by Mentz, as well as Harlem; nay, if we believe the account of the Donatus ſhewed by Aldus jun. to Angelus Rocca, on the firſt white leaves of which Mariangelus Accurſius, in the year 1500, (but who, I think, was born ſo early as 1450) had written theſe words in Latin; "this book, and another, the Confeſſionalia, were the *firſt printed books*, and that John Fuſt, the firſt *inventor* of printing, had printed them anno 1450." (Ang. Rocca, in his Bibliot. Vaticana. Palmer, p. 50.) I ſay, if we credit this account, Mentz, it is plain, has the juſteſt title to it.

In this place it may be mentioned that the other books from wooden blocks cannot be fixed with more certainty at Harlem than at Mentz. The Speculum, Biblia Pauperum, &c. may as fairly be claimed (and I think with ſtronger reaſons) by Mentz as by Harlem; but Mr. Meerman is ſo modeſt in rejecting all of them, except one copy, viz. the Speculum, which he allows to be printed by Coſter, and is that preſerved at *Harlem*, that it is almoſt a pity not to allow him that. He allows

authenticity

authenticity to no other, and ſo ſtrips our curious libraries, at once, of thoſe early ſpecimens of the art which diſtinguiſhes them; for he contends that they were printed much later. As he doth not give us his reaſon for his preference and exception in favour of the Harlem copy, and I have not ſeen it, I can go no further than the mention of it by him.

It is difficult to give the exact ſenſe of the word *Præfiguratio*; if he means only rude trials, like thoſe by Guttenberg at Straſburgh, he will not do much honour to Coſter, unleſs he could aſſiſt him with another Fuſt to lick this mis-ſhapen offspring into form.

The German writers do not give much credit to this Cologne Chronicle; they ſpeak contemptibly of it. "*Gelenius* & *Werdenhagen*, qui regardent cette Chronique comme un compilation indigeſte de mauvais lambeaux, tout couſues de fables ridicules, recommandent de n'y ajouter aucune foi, à moins qu'elle ne ſe trouve appuiée de quelque autorité plus *reſpectable*." Another ſays of it: "Productum a *quodam* archigrammateo *Colonienſi*. Auctor iſte, uti *anonymus* eſt, ita *recentioris ævi*, preterea damnatus; ideoque fides nulla ei videtur deberi, niſi alterius auctoritate ſublevetur [*a*]."

Beſides, the author of the Chronicle ſays, the art was diſcovered in 1440; Guttenberg, as it appears from his atteſtation, was ſtill at Straſburg in the years 1441 and 1442, and perhaps even in 1443. Meerman, aware of this miſtake, will have it to refer to the invention at Harlem. Will the words ſupport this application of them? is there any mention of Coſter, or indeed of Harlem; unleſs, it is to be comprized in the word Holland? *Omne majus continet in ſe minus.* He allows the Chronicle to have been much reprobated, but though abounding with the abſurdeſt fables, he thinks it may have weight as to *facts*; but a very weak ſilly writer may hurt the

[*a*] Marchand, p. 11.

credit even of *facts*, when he wiſhes to give honour to his own country, and his friend Zell.

Mr. Meerman hath given us the epitaph of Guttenberg, as follows: " D. O. M. S. Joannis Gensflechii ſenioris (this word is artfully added by Meerman, as the reader, not conſulting the original, where it is not found, may be miſled to ſuppoſe Meerman's addition for the original) epitaphium, auctore Adamo Gelthus, quod legitur ad calcem memoriæ Marſilii ab Inghen, edit. Heidelb. 1499. Joanni Gensfleiſch, artis impreſſoriæ *repertori*, de omni natione et linguæ optime merito, in nominis ſui memoriam immortalem Adam Gelthus poſuit.

" Oſſa ejus in eccleſia D. Franciſci Moguntina feliciter cubant."

There is no date mentioned; it doth not prove there were two Guttenbergs, though that is plainly the diſtinction he forces on the reader by the addition of *ſenioris*; it doth not prove that it is more applicable to the elder, than to the younger brother. What then is it produced for? to be ſatisfied with his ſole authority that it is the elder brother?

I have thus given ſuch of the authorities cited by him as are favourable to the cauſe of Harlem. I am not conſcious that I have omitted any that have the leaſt weight, and lay within the fifteenth century, to which period I wiſh to confine the enquiry. It is proper now to bring forwards thoſe in favour of the firſt invention by Guttenberg at Straſburg before he joined Fuſt at Mentz; I ſhall ſelect thoſe that are of any conſequence.

In the law-ſuit between George Dritzehen and Guttenberg, determined by the Senate of Straſburgh in 1439, on a claim by Dritzehen for monies due from the latter, on account, as it ſeems, for the attempts made in the invention of this art, which J. Guttenberg agreed to diſcover and inſtruct Andrew

Dritzehen to profecute, Andrew died before this was done; and his brother George brings this ſuit to oblige Guttenberg to refund certain monies he had received on that account from Andrew, or to reveal the art to him, as he had ſtipulated to do with Andrew, but which Guttenberg contended was *limited* to Andrew, and that therefore his brother had no claim to the ſatisfaction of the agreement.

It will be ſufficient to give ſuch examinations of the witneſſes as have reference to the ſuppoſed invention of printing. Theſe examinations ſeem to indicate that attempts had been made, and ſome diſcoveries effected in the diſcovery; but ſo imperfectly, that they were not completed till the purſe and ingenuity of Fuſt enabled Guttenberg to do it at Mentz afterwards. The firſt is,

"Item Conradus Saſpach dixit, Andream Heilman aliquando ad ſe in plateam mercatorum veniſſe et dixiſſe: Mi Conrade, cum Andreas Dritzehen mortuus ſit, et tu *prælum* confeceris, reique conſcius ſis, abi, exime prælo *paginas*, diſjice illas, et nemo ſciet quid rei ſit; ſed cum his teſtis id facere voluiſſet, et ita proxime præterito die S^ti^ Stephani ſcrutatus eſſet, opus jam fuiſſe ſublatum [*a*].

"Laurentius Beldeck dixit, ſe aliquando a Joanne Guttenberg ad Nicolaum Dritzehen poſt mortem Andreæ fratris ejuſdem, miſſum eſſe, ut ipſi nuntiaret, ne *prælum*, quod apud ſe haberet, cuiquam monſtraret; idque ſe curaſſe. Addidit, Guttenberg ipſi inſuper mandaſſe, ut ſubito ad præla ſe conferret, et illud prælum quod duabus cochleolis munitum eſſet, aperiret, ut *paginæ* dilabantur in partes, eaſque partes vel intra vel ſupra prælum poneret. Ita neminem rem vel inſpecturum, vel aliquid ejus intellecturum [*b*]."

It may be obſerved, if that matter wanted any other proof, that, in the adjudication of this law-ſuit, the Senate of Straſ-

[*a*] Meerman, p. 62. t. 2. [*b*] Ibid. p. 67.

burg ſtyle it "Georgius Dritzehen, agens contra Joannem Gensfleiſch ex Moguntia, *dictum Guttenberg.*"

After the ſeparation of Guttenberg from Fuſt about the year 1455, it is probable that he retired to Harlem, and ſet up a printing preſs in that town; though it is alſo contended that he went firſt to Straſburg. If he eſtabliſhed himſelf at the former of theſe places, we ſhall not want the help of the Lambeth MS. to aſcertain the early introduction of the art there; and the popular opinion ſo ſoon and generally taken up, that the art was invented there, will be well accounted for. The firſt proof is from Maittaire, vol. I. p. 31. "Joannes Guttenbergius, quem exorta inter ipſum et Fauſtum contentione migraſſe ſcribit *Salmuth*, Harlemum, unde aliquando profectus eſt; ibique primus artem typographicam a ſe inventam monſtraverit, et ipſe anno 1459 exercuit." He adds, very juſtly, this is a full confutation of Coſter's invention, if it is admitted.

Natalis Comes in his Hiſtoire Univerſelle ſays, "Mais n'y trouvant toute l'encouragement à Straſburg qu'il eſpéroit, il paſſa de là à *Harlem*, où il etablit en 1459 une nouvelle imprimerie [*a*]."

There is no improbability, that, after the ſeparation, Guttenberg might firſt have retired to Straſburg, where he began the invention, and it is ſaid, that, at this time, he inſtructed Mentz in the new art, as he was of an unſettled diſpoſition, which Meerman allows, and that, not ſucceeding there, he might try his fortune at *Harlem* afterwards in 1459. The interval between the ſeparation in 1455 and the eſtabliſhment made in 1459 will allow time enough for ſuch a roving character to make his attempt in both places. Schoepfflin, though poſitive as to Harlem, is not willing to allow that he went firſt to Straſburgh, and ſays, "Sed cur *Argentinam* rediret,

[*a*] Marchand, p. 30.

ubi

ubi ſua conſumpſerat, ubi ſucceſſores ejus Mentelius et Eggeſteinius præla ſua fortiter urgebant. Veri ſimilius eſt Moguntia eum diſceſſiſſe Harlemum. Ita decennalis vitæ Guttenbergianæ lacuna ad annum uſque 1465, quo in Moguntinis documentis rurſus apparet completur [*a*]."

Preſſed by theſe difficulties, Meerman is willing to allow that Guttenberg was at *Harlem*, but, not at the period mentioned by theſe writers. "Natalis Comes ignorantia deceptus *veræ* epochæ, quando *Harlemi* commoratus eſt, ut *artem addiſceret*, ſcilicet anno 1435." (This is taking *new* ground, and contradicts the account that he learnt the art of his brother, and was acquainted with it in 1459; it is contrary to the account that he was at Straſburgh ſo late as 1442.) Alterum vero iter ipſius in eam urbem poſt 1455 ſuſpectum redditur epitaphio Theod. Martini [*b*];" who, however, only ſays the *fuſile metal types* were firſt carried into *Holland* in 1472; but why might not theſe on *wooden blocks*, or the *fuſo-ſculpti*, which he inſiſts ſo much on, be carried there much earlier?

He goes on, "Aut cur duarum malim (poſtea aperiam) Harlemum, Gutenbergii (iter ſcilicet) quem quidem *Argentinam* migraſſe, potior vero de qua deinceps differam authoritas, Harlemi conſediſſe affirmat hæc primæ ſuæ artis molitus rudimenta; non qui ante ann. 1455, quo fatetur accidiſſe inter ſe Fauſtumque diſſidium, quod ipſi fuit migrandi cauſa, neque forſan multo poſt 1457, quo perfectior innoluerat imprimendi ratio. Veroſimile ergo eſt, Jo. Gensfleichium *juniorem*, ſive Gutenbergium, qui nundinas Aquiſgranenſes *quæſtûs* gratia frequentare erat ſolitus, non longe diſſitum ab hac urbe *Belgium* circa *ann.* 1435 adiiſſe, fratremque ſuum *Laurentii miniſtrum* cominus ſalutaſſe, a quo ex *artis ſecretis nonnulla hauſit*, atque Argentorati in uſus convertere ſtuduit ſuos. [*c*]"

[*a*] Schoeffer, p. 93. [*b*] Meerman, t. II. p. 138. [*c*] Ibid. p. 198.

Where

Where doth he find this brother in the ſervice of Coſter? But the uſe of having two Guttenbergs is now apparent; it is not plain they could *learn* the art, and that *imperfectly*, from Coſter, for they brought the knowledge of the art with them from Mentz. How *lame* and *miſerable* is this account in every part, but the acknowledgement that Guttenberg had been at Harlem!

As this ſeparation, and the cauſe of it, between Fuſt and Guttenberg, is of moment, and curious, the reader will pardon me if I give it at *length*, though Meerman hath kept it back, and refers us only to another book in which it is to be found; the complete account is given by *Marchand* [*a*].

"A la gloire de Dieu, Amen. Soit notoire à tout qui verront ou entendront cette inſtrument publique, qu'en l'année de nôtre Seigneur 1455, indiction troſieme, le Jeudi 6 de Novembre, la premiere année du pontificat de notre très Saint Pere le Pape Calixte III, a comparu ici à Mayence dans le grand parloir des religieux déchauſſées, entre onze heures et midi, par devant moi Notaire, et les témoins ſouſignés, honorable et diſcrete perſonne *Jaques Fuſt*, bourgeois de Mayence, qui au nom de ſon frere *Jean Fuſt*, pareillement préſent, a dit et déclaré manifeſtement, qu'à ce même jour et l'heure préſent, et dans ce même parloir des Religieux déchauſſées, *Jean Guttenberg* devoit voir et entendre prêter à Jean Fuſt un ſerment, conforme à la ſentence prononcée entre eux deux. Et cette ſentence lue en préſence d'honorable perſonne Henry Gunter, Curé de Sainte Chriſtophe de Mayence, de Henri Keffer, et de Bechtoff de Hanau, ſerviteur et valet de Guttenberg; *Jean Fuſt*, poſant la main ſur les Saintes Evangiles, a juré entre les mains de moi notaire public, conformément à la ſentence prononcée, et à un bilet quil m'a remis, et a fait le ſerment ſuivant, de

[*a*] Page 29.

mot

mot à mot: Moi, *Jean Fuſt*, ai emprunté 1550 *florins*, que j'ai remis à Jean Guttenberg, qui ont été employés à notre commun travail, et dont j'ai payé la rente et l'intérêt annuel, dont je dois encore partie. Comptant donc, pour chaque cent florins empruntés, comme eſt dit ci-deſſus ſix florins par an, (very low intereſt at ſuch a period), je lui en demande la rembourſement et l'intérêt conformément à la ſentence prononcée; ce que je prouverai en droit être légitime, en conſéquence de ma prétenſion ſur le dit *Jean Guttenberg*, en préſence de (the ſame witneſſes), et Jean Fuſt m'a demandé un inſtrument authentique, pour lui ſervir en tant et auſſi ſouvent que le beſoin ſeroit. En fois de quoi j'ai ſigné cet inſtrument, et y'ai appoſé mon cachet." The whole demand was for 2000 florins. As this act had *been doubted*, it was publiſhed by *Senckenberg* in 1747.

The ſentence referred to is found in the teſtimony of Salmuth, in Appendice Comment. in Pancirolum ad Tit. 12, ubi ita ſcribit:

"Eodem tempore Moguntiæ commorabatur Joannes Gutenbergius, *honeſtis parentibus* natus, qui proxime ædes Fauſti habitabat. Hic cum animadvertiſſet inſignem hanc artem typographicam, non ſolum omnium ore paſſim celebrari, ſed etiam admodum lucroſam eſſe, familiaritatem cum Fauſto contraxit, et quia opulentus erat, pecuniam ei ad ſumptus neceſſarios obtulit. Quod Fauſto minime ingratum fuit, quandoquidem comperiebat, ſumptus quos in eam artem faciebat quotidie creſcere; et tunc opus chartæ pergamenæ imprimendum ſub manibus habebat. Quapropter cum Gutenbergio convenit et pactus eſt, ut quicquid in illud opus impenderetur, communi utriuſque lucro vel damno cederet. Quoniam vero Fauſtus plus inſumpſerat quam Gutenbergius, neceſſitatem poſtulaſſe arbitrabatur, hic dimidiam ſuam partem exſolvere detractavit; qua ex re cum lis orta eſſet, alter alterum Moguntiæ

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in jus vocavit, ubi partibus auditis pronunciatum fuit. Si Joannes Fauſtus, *interpoſito* juramento, *affirmare* poſſet omnem pecuniam, quam mutuam ſumpſiſſet in commune opus erogatam, non *autem* in *proprios ipſius uſus* converſam fuiſſe, Gutenbergium ad ſolvendum obligatum eſſe. Cui ſententiæ Fauſtus paruit ſicut ex archetypo inſtrumenti quod etiamnum ſupereſt anno 1455, ſexto Novemb. a Joanne Ulrico Helmaſpergero notario de ea re confectum fuit, liquido demonſtrari poteſt. Unde evidenter apparet Gutenbergium nequaquam *artis typographicæ* inventorem, et primum autorem eſſe, ſed aliquot annis poſtquam ea inventa fuiſſet, a Joanne Fauſto in conſortium adſcitum, pecuniam ei ſuppeditaſſe [*a*]."

Although I cannot allow that Fuſt was the firſt *inventor*, as *Schoeffer* honeſtly owns when I come to give his teſtimony, yet, it is ſufficiently proved that he took a conſiderable part in conducting and *improving* the art, beſides his meer aſſiſtance in ſupplying money. Salmuth is poſitive that he retired to Harlem in 1459, and for this he muſt have had good authority, *although the Lambeth MS. was not then known.*

Before I proceed to the authorities in favour of Mentz, it may be proper to finiſh all that hath been urged that hath any relation to the invention at Harlem. Mr. Meerman, to account for ſome of the difficulties in his way, hath imagined another ſpecies of printing, which he calls *fuſo-ſculpti*. His idea will be beſt explained by the obſervations of the writers who confute it. Meerman is ſo attached to this middle improvement between the blocks of wood and wooden types, and the completion of the art by the fuſile moveable metal types, that he will allow no book to have been printed by the latter before the Durand in 1459, and contends *expreſsly* that the two Pſalters of 1457 and 1459, and the Catholicon of 1460, are only printed with the former letters.

[*a*] Malinkrot, p. 76.

I be-

I believe the very ſight of theſe books would be a ſufficient confutation ; for I can diſcover no difference that can eſtabliſh the diſtinction. I have them all except the firſt Pſalter, and that I examined and took notes of *myſelf* at Vienna. Till he will give us his criteria for this ſingular opinion, I muſt continue to think they were all printed with the ſame kind of letters, and in the ſame way ; indeed, the difference in the time of printing the ſecond Pſalter and the Durand is ſo trifling, that it is not likely the improvement given to the latter ſhould take place in that very ſhort interval. They are both printed in 1459, the Pſalter in Auguſt, and the Durand in October. But now to the authorities againſt this ſuppoſed improvement :

" Pluſieurs auteurs ont compris enfin l'impoſſibilité d'imprimer avec des *lettres de bois*, ils ont imaginées un *autre genre* pour expliquer l'inégalité des caracteres dans ces livres dont nous parlons ; ils ont produit, à cette fin, des lettres mobiles, *ſculptées de bronze*, mais par malheur elles rencontrent encore plus de difficulté que celles *de bois* ; outre que la *matière* eſt plus dure, elles demandent encore un tems *infini* à être ſculptés. M. Meerman enfin pour ſauver quelques circonſtances établies par lui pour prouver l'Hiſtoire de l'Imprimerie de *Coſter*, a inventé une troiſieme eſpece de lettres. Il fait *fondre le corps* dans des moules, ou *matrices*, pourqu'elles *devient égales*, et en ſuite il fait taillier la lettre au *bout à la main et au couteau*. Mais quand on eſt venu juſqu'à *fondre le corps*, il faut être bien imbécille pour ne pas fondre *auſſi la lettre*. Diſons plutot la vérité ; et d'autant plus qu'on rencontre même dans les livres les plus irrégulierement imprimées toujours quelques marques qui décelent la *fonte* des lettres, et avouons ſincerement que toutes *les imprimées* le ſont, ou avec

des *lettres fixes*, gravées ſur *bois*, ou avec des lettres *de fonte* [*a*]." He might ſafely have added that ſome of theſe *little irregularities* are to be found *not only* in the above books reprobated by him, but in others of the very early editions to which he doth not extend his *ſeverity*, but which were gradually corrected as the art improved.

" Je ſuis convaincu que *Guttenberg* a fait faire une aſſez grande quantité de lettres *de bois*, mais je ſuis auſſi *convaincu* qu'on n'a pu taillier à la main la quantité même d'une telle *égalité et juſteſſe*, pour imprimer avec elles des feuilles *entieres*, et encore moins ces *gros volumes*, comme quelqu'uns prétendent [*b*].

" Mais j'ai remarqué que quelqu'uns ont voulu trouver une troiſieme genre, ſavoir des lettres de *métal*, ſculptées avec des *outils de fer*; mais, ſi on conſidere les inconvéniens qui en doivent naturellement rencontrer en taillant des *lettres ſi petits* avec le fer, dans une matiere *auſſi dure* que l'eſt le métal, même en ſuppoſant que les *corps des lettres* fuſſent de fonte, et *la lettre* ſeulement ſculptée, on ne trouveroit peut-être *deux* lettres *uniformes*; outre qu'il failloit être bien ignorant, après avoir trouvée la *fonte de corps*, ſi l'on ne pouvoit pas trouver auſſi la fonte des *lettres mêmes*, ſur tout quand un *orfevre* s'en mêle [*c*]."

" Longius enim tempus majoreſque ſumtus typorum e metallo quam ligno ſculptura poſtulabat, nec omnis ſemper tolli poterat inequalitas, unde et hos aliquando perforari in medio filoque necti oportuit [*d*]."

Meerman allows they were obliged to connect and keep ſteady theſe letters by paſſing a thread, or line, through every letter of a ſentence, and ſays, he hath often obſerved the hole left by this *miſerable* operation; I never did.

[*a*] Schoeffer, p. 260. [*b*] Ibid. p. 254.
[*c*] Ibid. p. 446. [*d*] Meerman, t. I. p. 27.

" Ce trou même, qu'il étoit obligé de ménager à chaque lettre, fait aſſez voir la difficulté qu'il rencontroit de joindre les pieces enſemble avec *ſolidité*, outre cela ce trou étoit ſujet à de grands inconvéniens ; enfiler les caracteres d'une ſeule ligne, en faiſant un nœud au bout, ou faire paſſer un fil de droit à gauche par toutes les lignes, l'un et l'autre n'étoit pas ſuffiſant pour ſoutenir l'effort d'une *preſſe* ; il ne pouvoit pas manquer, comme j'ai obſervé, que dans une grande feuille, quelqu'uns des lettres ne *marquaſſent* pas ſur *le papier*." And again, " S'il a fondu des lettres de *plomb*, ſans connoitre la maniere de taillier des poinçons, ou frapper des matrices, ou s'il a voulu façonner au *couteau* des lettres au bout de chaque corps, et ſi il n'employoit que du plomb, matiere nullement capable de reſiſter à la préſſe, et encore plus flexible que le bois, ſur tout quand il eſt trop mince, il n'a pu venir à bout d'imprimer un livre, ſuivant ſes deſirs [*a*]."

Meerman may be excuſed in ſome of theſe miſtakes, as probably he was not acquainted with the *practical* part of *letter-founding* ; if he was even with that of printing. Senſible how much, in this enquiry, depended on a knowledge in both the branches, I have taken great pains to make myſelf acquainted with them ; and have found in Mr. Martin, who hath ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the types for the edition of Shakſpeare, a ready and able maſter, who hath inſtructed me fully in the whole art of letter-founding ; and from this knowledge I have preſumed to ſay, what would have been raſhneſs without it, not only what Schoepfflin hath ſaid, of the difficulties and inconveniences, but what I am confident that Mr. Nichols, ſo complete and able an artiſt as he is himſelf, and ſo candid a man, will allow me to ſay, that Mr. Meerman's *fuſo-ſculpti* are *impoſſible*.

[*a*] Schoeffer.

To finiſh what may be farther ſaid of Coſter and Harlem, it will be proper to caution our extravagant countrymen about the prices they give for the early ſpecimens of the art; thoſe ſuppoſed to be on wooden blocks, the Speculum, &c. Meerman reprobates them all, except one fortunate copy of the Speculum preſerved at Harlem. This hath found grace in his eyes, perhaps, becauſe it is at Harlem. All other copies of theſe early books, ſo much the paſſion of our collectors, he ſuppoſes to be performances of later and bad printers, ſeemingly not aware how much the Harlem claims may be affected by it; for, this copy at Harlem was not known, or indeed any other of Coſter's performances, till about the year 1660, when a fortunate event put that city in poſſeſſion of it, as will appear from the following account of it: "Sciendum nempe eſt, medio fere ſæculo, an. 1654, (or 1650, as ſome ſay,) Hag. Comit. venum expoſitam fuiſſe ciſtam, variis repletam libris, qui per longiſſimum tempus in *familia Laurentiana* cuſtoditi fuerant (and yet never known to Junius, or produced in this controverſy, and, till this lucky event, not one original document could be ſhewed for Harlem). In ea ſcilicet continebantur *Ars moriendi*, *Hiſtoria Beatæ Virginis ex Cantico Canticorum*, ac *Speculum Latinum* ſecundæ editionis, uno volumine compacta, item *Speculum Belgicum* ex principe editione, et *Figuræ Apocalypſeos S. Joannis*; omnes *impreſſionis Belgicæ* originariæ fœtus. Preterea *Chronicon Colonienſe* anno 1499, primam inventionem artis Hollandiæ tribuens. Denique tres alii libri ſæculo 15 excuſi; nempe *Ciceronis Officia* ex edit. Fauſti 1466. *Speculum Belgicum* Veldenarii, 1483, ac Barthol. Anglici opus modo laudatum ex Belgica verſione, Harlemi 1485, &c. Hunc theſaurum Senatus Harlemenſis anno 1654, proxeneta quodam *Matham*, (ſculptore, ni fallor, Harlemenſi) *trecentorum florenorum* pretio emi, atque in curia urbis, æternæ memoriæ,

aſſervari juſſit. Quæ omnia diſcimus ex J. Vlamingii annotationibus ad Henr. Spiegelii Hartſpiegel [*a*]." The books thus found are all defective and incomplete, though deſcending from Coſter's family.

It may be curious, in this place to trace the art through its ſeveral progreſſes. From the blocks of wood, which only could be employed on the work for which they were carved, an attempt was made to cut *movable letters* on wood; but this, I am ſatisfied, went no farther than trials; and, if Schoeffer's happy genius had not diſcovered the art of caſting *matrices*, and cutting punches, the art muſt have remained imperfect and barbarous. Many difficulties were ſtill to be overcome; lead alone was too ſoft, and a mixture of hammered iron was added to it; and, with this compoſition, to which tin was ſometimes added, printing was carried on till latterly, when chemiſtry was called in to its aid, and, by the addition of one pound of *Regulus of Antimony* to five pounds of lead, a happy and complete compoſition hath been obtained, hard enough to bear the preſs, and yet ſoft enough to allow the knife, and even the *plane*, for the ſubſequent operations in fitting and completing the letters for the *preſs*. The punch, therefore, of ſteel; the mould of that and wood; the matrix of copper; and this compoſed metal, are all that are neceſſary for letter-founding.

Although I may offend Mr. Nichols by going over again ground that hath been already trodden, in treating the ſubject I muſt not loſe the advantage of offering the authorities in favour of Mentz, as I have done thoſe for Harlem, merely becauſe they have been produced before; if they had been attended to, as well as produced, perhaps there would have been no occaſion for this trouble to myſelf and the reader.

[*a*] Meerman, t. I. p. 117.

To

To begin then with our own country. Aldridge, in the Black Book, or Regiſter of the Garter, vol. II. p. 161, publiſhed by Anſtis, ſpeaking of the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Sixth, writes thus:

"In this year of our moſt pious king, 1457, the art of printing books firſt began at *Mentz*, a famous city of *Germany*." N. B. Aldridge was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1507; though poſſibly born about the time, he ſays nothing of Turnour's and Caxton's journey, nor one word of Harlem.

Fabian, writing of the year 1457, ſays; "After the *opinion* of many writers (this muſt refer to the claim of Straſburgh, adopted by ſeveral), the craft of imprinting books began in a city of Alemagne named *Mayence*, which, ſince that time, hath had wonderful encreaſe."

Caxton, in his Polychronicon, relating the events of 1455, ſays: "About this time the craft of imprinting books was found in Mogunce, in Allemayne; why the craft is multiplied through the world, and books be had great cheap, and in great number, becauſe of the ſame craft."

Caxton was abroad from 1441 to 1471, chiefly in Flanders and Holland, in the very neighbourhood of Harlem, and yet doth not ſeem to have heard of the invention there. We know he was abroad in 1459, the time of Turnour's journey, as he ſays in his Recueil de Troy, at his *great charge* and *trouble*, learning the art of *imprinting*. Suppoſing the art went no farther there than the blocks of wood, in that ſtate it muſt have ſtruck ſuch a curious man, at that time buſied himſelf to learn it, with wonder and aſtoniſhment, and induced him to make ſome mention of it, as the baſis on which the ſubſequent improvements, which Nichols will have it detained

detained him abroad, depended, if he had not been *deſirous* to learn more of it than Corſellis could teach, who went no farther than the blocks of wood [*a*].

Ex epitome rerum Germ. Script. 1502, cap 65.

"Anno Chriſti 1440, Frederico III. Romanorum imperatore regente, magnum quoddam, ac pene divinum beneficium collatum eſt univerſo terrarum orbi a *Joanne Gutenberg*, Argentinenſi, novo ſcribendi genere reperto. Is enim primus artem impreſſoriam, quam Latiniores vocant *excuſoriam*, in urbe Argentinenſi invenit. Inde *Moguntiam* veniens, eandem feliciter complevit [*b*]."

Hen. Wirczburg de Vach, in faſciculo temporum Wernerî Rolevinck de Laer, aucto ad ann. 1457. This was continued afterwards to 1474, and publiſhed 1481. Librorum impreſſionis ſcientia ſubtiliſſima, omnibus ſæculis inaudita, reperitur in urbe *Moguntina* [*c*].

Eraſmus aſcribes explicitly the invention to Mentz and to Fuſt. In his epiſtle dedicatory to an edition of Livy in 1519, printed at Mentz by young Schoeffer; he ſays: "Huic urbi (Moguntiæ) omnes bonarum literarum ſtudioſi, non parum debent, ob egregium illud ac pene divinum inventum, *ſtanneis typis* excudendi libros." He alſo ſays: "Atque hujus quidem laudis præcipua portio debetur hujus, pene divini dixerim, opificii repertoribus, quorum princeps fuiſſe fertur, totius ævi memoria celebrandus, Joannes Fuſt, avus ejus, cui Livium hunc, tum auctum duobus volu minibus, tum innumeris locis ex codice vetuſtiſſimo caſtigatum debemus, ut hoc egregium decus, partim ad Joan. Schoeffer, velut hæreditario jure devolvatur, partim ad *Moguntiacæ* civitatis gloriam pertineat [*d*]. If Eraſmus knew of this invention at Harlem, would his vanity, as a Dutchman, have ſuppreſſed all mention of it?

[*a*] Bowyer, p. 11. [*b*] Meerman, t. II. p. 139. [*c*] Ib. p. 122. [*d*] Ib. p. 157.

"Imp.

"Imp. Maximiliani privilegium ad impreſſionem T. Livii per J. Schoeffer, an. 1519.

"Maximilianus, &c. honeſto noſtro, et ſacri imperii fideli nobis dilecto J. Shoeffer Calcographo Moguntino, gratiam noſtram Cæſaream et omne bonum. Cum ſicut *docti et moniti* ſumus fide *dignorum* teſtimonio, ingenioſum Calcographiæ, *authore avo tuo*, *inventum*, felicibus incrementis in univerſum orbem promnaverit, &c. Proinde volentes tibi, tum ob *avum* tuum, tam omni vel ob hoc divinum inventum favore et commendatione dignum, ſuccurrere, &c. . . . omnibus Calcographis inhibemus, &c. to print this work [*a*]."

Dedicatio T. Livii Germanice verſi, editique an. 1505. Imp. Maximiliano inſcripta.

"Hoc opus, quod in laudatiſſima urbe *Moguntia* exantlatum atque impreſſum eſt, Imperatoria tua majeſtas benigne recipiat, in qua etiam primum admiranda *ars typographica* ab ingenioſo Joanne Gutenbergio, ann. a nativitate Chriſti 1450, inventa; et poſthac *ſtudio*, *ſumtu*, *et labore* Johannis Fuſt, et Petri Schoefferi *Moguntia emendata* et ad poſteros propagata eſt; unde huic urbi non Germanica ſolum natio ſed omnis etiam terrarum orbis æternas laudes optimeque promeritas debet, ejuſque cives atque incolæ hoc jure legitime fruuntur [*b*]."

There appears all the candour in this account that ſhould give credit to it. The firſt invention is honeſtly aſcribed to Gutenberg. This muſt be allowed, as far as the faint attempts to diſcover the art had been made by him; but which would not have been completed without the help of Fuſt. Would Eraſmus have countenanced this bold aſſertion; would he ſuffer the emperor to credit it, or could the emperor himſelf, after conſulting ſo many *able perſons*, believe Schoeffer; if this claim, at that time, had not been generally acknowledged, and no claim from Harlem known or heard of?

[*a*] Meerman, t. II. p. 147, [*b*] Ibid. p. 145.

Ex

Ex Epiſtola Trithemii ad Jacob. Kymolanum, data 1507. Lib. II. Epiſt. 44.

" Ars, quam vocant impreſſoriam, tempore infantiæ meæ, apud *Moguntiam*, metropolim Francorum, inventa, infinita pene et veterum et novorum volumina quotidie producit in lucem [*a*]." This writer I ſhall ſoon bring forward again as the beſt, fulleſt, and moſt concluſive, authority I can produce.

Ex Chronico Sponheimenſi (ſcripta ann. 1506, et ſeq.) ad an. 1450.

" His quoque temporibus, ars imprimendi et characterizandi libros a novo reperta eſt (if this doth not refer to the *Chineſe* who have been *preſſed* into this diſpute, I confeſs I do not underſtand it) in civitate *Moguntina*, per quendam civem, qui Joannes Gutenberg dicebatur; qui cum omnem ſubſtantiam, propter nimiam difficultatem inventionis novæ, in eam perficiendam expoſuiſſet, *concilio* et auxilio bonorum virorum Joannis Fuſt et aliorum adjutus, rem inceptam perfecit. Primus autem hujus artis dilatator fuit, poſt ipſum inventorem, Petrus Opilionis de Gernſheim, qui multa volumina ſuo tempore impreſſit. Morabatur autem præfatus J. Guttenberg Moguntiæ in domo dicta *zum Jungen*, quæ *domus uſque* in præſentem diem illius novæ artis nomine *dignoſcitur* inſignita [*b*]." So we have a houſe to ſhew as well as Harlem for the invention, though not quite ſo old.

Ex Epit. rerum. Germ. cap. 65, per Joannem Wymphilingium. He was born in 1450, and lived till 1528; his authority, therefore, is conſiderable.

" Quod ergo nonnulli adſcribunt excellentiſſimæ rei inventionem civi Moguntino, et nonnulli quidem *Joan. Fuſto*, et ad annum circiter 1452, prorogant artem primùm; inde accidit quod primus inventor excogitatam a ſe artem in patria (this muſt be Guttenberg) Moguntia deſcendens, aliis etiam adjunctis, perfectiorem reddidit; quæ quidem paulatim ad eam perfectionem, quem nunc habet, producta eſt,

[*a*] Meerman, t. II. p. 127. [*b*] Ibid.

nam principio *ligneæ tabulæ* inſcripſerunt literas, quæ paginam libri complectuntur. Id quia magni ſumptus et laboris fuit excogitati ſunt *typi lignei* connexiles, ut filum, per foramina ſingulorum inducta in verſum *unum connectuit*, pluribus autem verſibus deinceps ſerie conjunctis, pagina expleta eſt: tandem excogitarunt ingenioſos artifices imaginem literæ in ferrum *incidere*, atque imprimere architypo æreo, quem vocant *matriculam*, atque in eo plurimas literas ejuſdem formæ ex *ſtanneo* fundere; porro litteræ omnes in ærea patula per *loculos* digeruntur, e quibus compoſitiones formularum literas connectantes, paginas implent, quæ concluſæ marginibus ferreis prelo ſubjiciuntur, ejuſque atramentum, aut alterius coloris pigmentum, vernice temperatum, ut tenacius hæreat, pelliceis pilis inducitur, illiſque chartæ humectatæ librario, prælo validius imprimuntur ut ſcriptum excipiant." This is the firſt mention of the wooden types.

Narratio Schoefferi de inventione Calcographiæ quam ſervavit Jo. Trithemius in annalibus Hirſaugienſibus. t. II. ad ann. 1450, p. 421.

"His temporibus in civitate Moguntina Germaniæ prope Rhenum, et non in *Italia*, ut quidam falſo ſcripſerunt, inventa et excogitata eſt ars illa mirabilis et *prius inaudita* (very ſtrong) imprimendi et characterizandi libros per *Joannem Guttenberger*, civem Moguntinum (this honour gives great weight to Schoeffer's teſtimony) qui cum omnem pene ſubſtantiam ſuam pro inventione hujus artis expoſuiſſet, et nimia difficultate laborans, jam in iſto, jam in alio deficeret, jamque prope eſſet, ut deſperatus negotium intermitteret, *conſilio* tandem et impenſis (very ſtrong) Joan. Fuſt, æque civis Moguntini, rem perfecit inceptam. In primis igitur characteribus literarum in *tabulis ligneis* per ordinem ſculptis, formiſque compoſitis vocabularium, *Catholicon* nuncupatum, impreſſerunt, ſed cum iiſdem formis nihil aliud potuerunt imprimere, eo quod cha-

characteres non fuerunt amovibiles de tabulis, ſed inſculpti, ſicut diximus (very plain). Poſt hæc inventis ſucceſſerunt ſubtiliora, inveneruntque modum fundendi formas omnium alphabeti Latini literarum, quas ipſi *matrices* nominabant, ex quibus rurſum *æneos ſive ſtanneos characteres fundebant*, ad omnem preſſuram ſufficientes, quos priùs *manibus ſculpebant*. Et revera ſicuti ante xxx ferme annos ex ore Petri Opilionis de Gernſheim, civis Moguntini, qui *gener* erat primi artis inventoris, audivi, magnam a primo inventionis ſuæ hæc ars impreſſoria habuit difficultatem. Namque impreſſuri *Bibliam* priuſquam tertium compleſſent in opere quaternionem, (N.B. A quire of four ſheets goes to the *quaternio*,) pluſquam 4000 florenorum expoſuerunt. Petrus autem memoratus Opilio, tunc famulus, poſtea *gener*, ſicut diximus, inventoris primi, Joan. Fuſt, homo ingenioſus et prudens, faciliorem modum fundendi characteres excogitavit, et artem, ut nunc eſt, complevit. Et hi tres imprimendi modum aliquandiu tenuerunt occultum, quouſque per famulos, ſine quorum miniſterio artem ipſam exercere non poterant, divulgatus fuit, in *Argentinenſes* primo, et paulatim in omnes nationes [*a*]."

This relation to Trithemius was in 1484, not 40 years after the invention.

It is from ſome part of this account, poſſibly, that Meerman grounds his notion of the *fuſo-ſculpti* ; but, if he will attend to the words, he will find the letters *were caſt*, not all cut with the knife, as he contends ; and not much different from what is done now, in which the letters, though *caſt* in the *matrices*, want the aſſiſtance of the knife to complete them.

This ſeems to be as plain and as full an account of the diſcovery as we can expect. Few, if any, of the diſcoveries of the ancient arts have reached us ſo well authenticated and explained. We have here the ſon-in law of the inventor of the art, the principal *improver* of it *himſelf*, by the introduc-

[*a*] Meerman, t. II. p. 103.

tion of the *fufile* metal types, giving this fair and modeſt account to Trithemius, *honeſtly* giving to Guttenberg the honour of the firſt invention. If his modeſty and candour led him to give up this praiſe to Guttenberg, what could induce him to withhold it from *Coſter* and *Harlem*, if he had known, (and know it he muſt,) that any ſuch claim had exiſted.

The whole diſpute, I think, might be ſettled by this ſingle teſtimony. I could have added the many colophons in the books printed by Fuſt and Schoeffer, inſiſting on this honour; but, Meerman is pleaſed to reject them for reaſons that I think his readers will not allow the force of. If their truth had been doubted, it is ſtrange that no champion for Coſter and Harlem would impeach them, till Mr. Meerman, *reſolutely*, three hundred years after the invention, hath thought proper to reprobate them.

To what unpardonable lengths a party ſpirit will carry writers will be ſeen from the following authority, which ſhould *properly precede* the account by Trithemius from Schoeffer.

Carle Van Mander, nearly cotemporary with Junius, though he commemorates many artiſts of inferior fame, ſays nothing of *Coſter*, or his pretended diſcovery; but, in ſpeaking of the *mariner's compaſs*, and its wonderful utility, proceeds thus: "Que les anciens écrivains ne le feroient pas moins (ſurpris) quand ils verront l'art plus utile de la typographie, dont la *ville* d'*Harlem* s'arroge la premiere invention *avec aſſez de préſomption.*" Theſe are his genuine words in his own edition of 1604, fol. 300; but, in a late edition of 1764, theſe offenſive words, "*avec aſſez de préſomption*" are altered, *monſtrum horrendum!* into "*dont Harlem avec aſſez de fondement s'attribue l'invention*:" What a cauſe to want ſuch ſupports!

XXIII. *Ob-*

XXIII. *Obſervations on Epiſcopal Chairs and Stone Seats; as alſo on Piſcinas and other appendages to Altars ſtill remaining in Chancels; with a Deſcription of* Chalk *Church, in the Dioceſe of* Rocheſter. *In a Letter from Mr.* Charles Clarke, *to the Rev.* Samuel Denne, F.A.S.

Read March 21, 1793.

Reverend Sir,

AMONG the eccleſiaſtical remains of this country the ſeats fixed on the South ſide the chancels of parochial and other churches, having but very lately been honoured with a ſhare in the labours of your pen, I judged you might receive ſome trifling gratification in being made acquainted that a religious edifice, at a ſmall diſtance from this place, was decorated with a ſpecimen of theſe reliques, nearly unique. This information you were not only pleaſed kindly to accept, but alſo to favour me, by ſignifying your deſire that I ſhould give an explanation of this and ſimilar appendages. Stimulated by your wiſhes, and happy in the propoſed opportunity of collecting together my ſcattered notions on theſe and one or two relative ſubjects, I am now about to offer to your conſideration the beſt account I have been enabled to obtain, of the uſes for which they were deſigned by our anceſtors; and permit me to obſerve, on the part of my endeavour, that little or nothing has been hazarded to conjecture, that what-

ever ſavoured of myſtery, or was any way phantaſtical, has been as much as poſſible avoided; and that, as far as they could be had, vouchers of the moſt genuine worth in ſuch affairs have been conſulted and produced: "Authoribus quidem ad iſtam ſententiam, quam vis obtineri, uti optimis poſſumus: quod in omnibus cauſis et debet et ſolet valere plurimum: et primum quidem omni antiquitate; quæ quo propius aberat ab ortu et divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortaſſe, quæ erant vera, cernebat [*a*]."

From very early times, the cuſtom of being ſeated during certain parts of divine offices appears to have obtained in the churches of the Chriſtians. This rite is ſpoken of in the moſt approved authors, who have left on record the times in which it was practiſed, and in what place and manner the chair of the biſhop, as well as the ſeats of the clergy and the choir, were diſpoſed; and we ſhall ſee the ſame practices deſcending uniformly, notwithſtanding the varieties in ceremonial ſo frequently to be found, particularly in the Latin churches. Paſſing by thoſe times of perſecution and obloquy, under which Chriſtianity laboured in its firſt foundation, when it is ſaid divine things were diſpenſed in caves and obſcure places; and before it is likely any regular plan of eccleſiaſtical erection could poſſibly take place, let us endeavour to diſcover, as far as may be neceſſary to the preſent object, what kind of buildings the firſt churches might have been: "Priſci etenim Chriſti fideles in ædificiis conſtruendis Gentilium imitatores, ad eorum ſimilitudinem ſacra templa erigebant, vel ab ethnicis jam erecta, ab omni profanæ ſuperſtitionis labe expiata, divinos in uſus aptabant: ut innuit Auſonius in gratiarum actione pro conſulatu: "Baſilicæ olim negotiis plenæ nunc votis pro tua ſalute ſuſceptis." Et Iſidorus Originum

[*a*] Tuſcul. Diſput. l. I, 12.

lib.

lib. V. "Baſilicæ prius vocabantur regum habitacula, nunc autem ideo Baſilicæ divina templa nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et ſacrificia offeruntur [*b*]."

Upon the authority of Iſidore it ſhould ſeem the baſilicæ of the ancients were the palaces of their kings; but they were rather buildings of royal foundation, aſſigned to public uſe, and in which kings were ſuppoſed to have diſtributed juſtice to their ſubjects. Among the Romans they appear very early to have built their law courts, and exchanges for their merchants, in much the ſame form, and to have known them by the ſame appellation. Of theſe there were nineteen in the city: they were accommodated with ſeveral porticos and tribunals, variouſly diſpoſed; the ſpot appropriated to the tribunal was of a ſemicircular form, and when they were applied, on the early eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, for holding religious aſſemblies, here ſat the biſhop, on an elevated ſeat, having his family on either hand, and the altar in his front, it becoming afterwards the abſis of the church. In the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions [*c*] we are informed that the church ſhould reſemble a ſhip, be extended in length, and turned towards the eaſt: here on each ſide is to be placed a chamber ſacriſty *(partiphoria)* or chapel [*d*]. The epiſcopal ſeat ought to be placed in the midſt, towards the Eaſt, and the ſeats of the prieſts on each ſide. This, with the poſition of the altar, is alſo mentioned by Euſebius, in his account of the church at Tyre. "Porro ſanctuario hoc modo abſoluto et perfecto, ſelliſque in altiſſimo loco ad præſidum eccleſiæ honorem collocatis, altarique denique tanquam ſancto ſanctorum in medio ſanctuarii ſito [*e*]."

[*b*] Ciampini Vetera Monumenta, vol. I. p. 9 Romæ, 1690.

[*c*] Lib. II.

[*d*] For keeping the ornaments, the ſacred veſſels, and other things neceſſary in the Holy miniſtry. It is thus alſo the churches of the Greeks are repreſented. Le Brun, vol. II. p. 9.

[*e*] Hiſtor. Eccl. lib. X.

We

We alſo obſerve, in the ſame author, that a balluſtrade encloſed this ſanctuary: "cancellis ex ligno fabricatis circumdedit." This part ſo encloſed alſo took the name of *abſis*, vault, or arcade; and in moſt of the ancient churches ended in a ſemicircular form. Before this vault was alſo placed the choir, with the *ambon*, for the accommodation of thoſe whoſe duty it was to ſing the divine offices. Agreeing with the above except in the laſt particular, is the deſcription from Euſebius, of the churches of Tyre, Jeruſalem, and Conſtantinople, given by Sir George Wheeler, prebendary of Durham, in the laſt age, aſſiſted by a view of ſeveral very ancient in the Eaſtern world. Of this diſpoſition could many more examples be adduced, in Rome, and other parts, particularly the moſt venerable church of St. Clement, ſo amply deſcribed by Ciampini. Deeming it would much conduce towards the underſtanding the above diſpoſition, and the elucidating the following deductions, I here preſent you with a plan of an ancient baſilica, as given and deſcribed by the Rev. Claud de Vert [*f*]. There can be little doubt, that, prior to the perſecution of Diocletian, there were many churches thus regularly built; ſo much may be affirmed on

[*f*] In his "Explication ſimple, litérale, et hiſtorique, des cérémonies de l'Egliſe." Tom. III. Paris, 1713. See Plate XIV. See alſo the explanation at the end.

In Bingham's Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, vol. III. p 511. 8vo edit. there is a plan of an ancient church, with its exedræ, as deſcribed by Euſebius; and at p. 148, there are four plans of antient churches with the under-written titles *; but in not one of theſe plans are there three ſeats ſituated on the South ſide of the altar, correſponding to thoſe marked by the letters A. B. C. according to the deſcription of M. Claud de Vert. S. D.

* Ichnographia Templorum Orientalem.
- - - - - - - - - Beveregii.
- - - - - - - - - Leonis Allatii.
- - - - partis interioris S. Sophiæ.

the

Fig. 1.

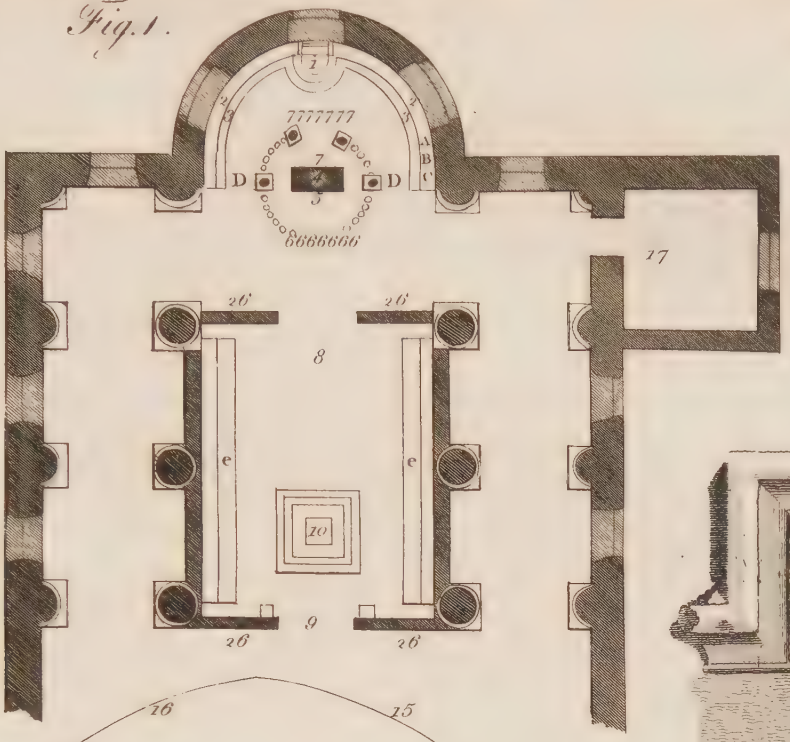


Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 4.

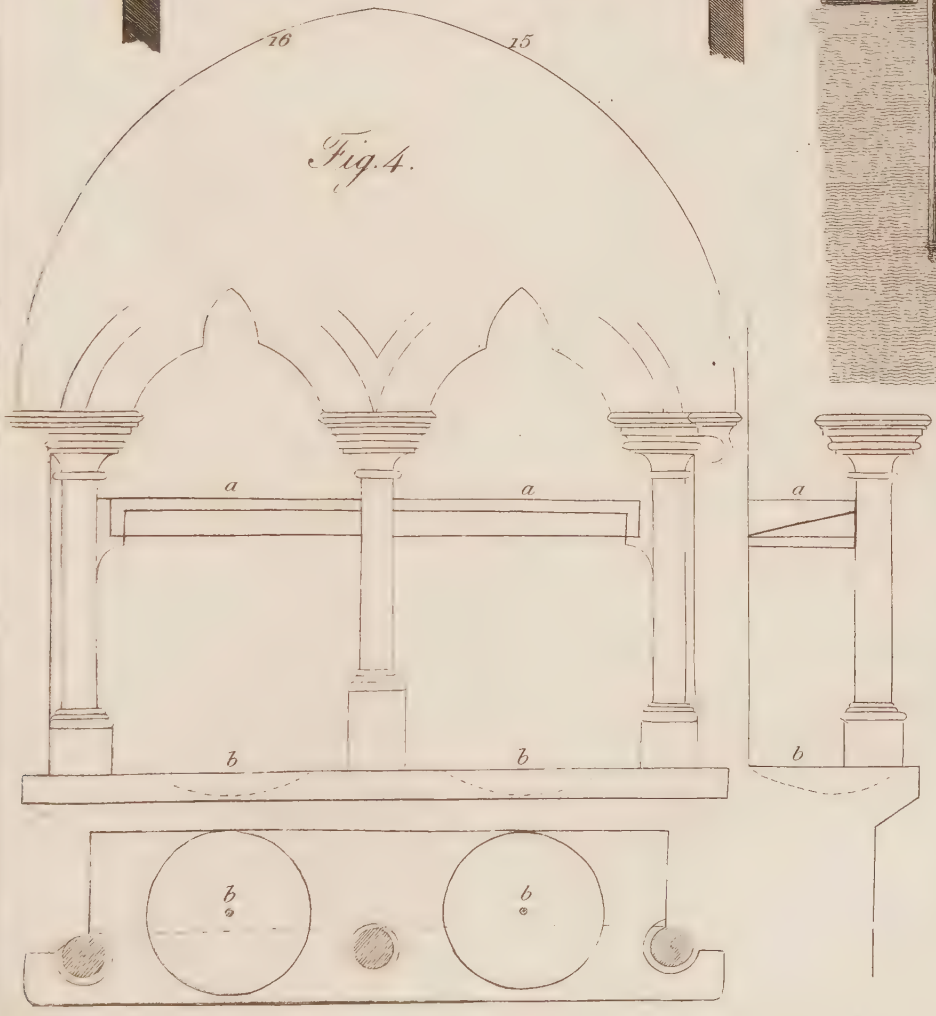


Fig. 5.

the authority of Euſebius, who relates, the Chriſtians, in the time of Conſtantine, not ſatisfied with rebuilding the old, erected, in every city, ſpacious churches from the very foundations; and thus it is likely many were built under the Chriſtian Emperors. No fewer than forty of the kind called *baſilicæ* are ſaid, by Optatus, to have been in Rome about the middle of the fourth century; and it may be deemed a certainty, that the mode of erecting the ſacred edifice, then generally in uſe, paſſed over into this country as a ſuitable accompaniment to the glad tidings brought from that place by Auguſtine and his followers; and became in like manner the cuſtom of our Iſland.

It is evident from one of the canons of the council of Carthage, held A. D. 398 [*g*], that the biſhop and clergy ſhould be ſeated, as already deſcribed. This council being approved by Leo III. who poſſeſſed the papal chair from 795 to 816, accounts for the practice of the Weſtern church, in the performance of this rite, at the end of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth centuries. Durande, biſhop of Maude, equally accounts for it in the twelfth. "Quia ergo Epiſcopus ſpeculator eſt, ideo ex inſtitutione Clementis primi [*h*] cathedra ſive locus in eccleſia altior eſt, ut ſuperintendat et populum cuſtodiat, omnes conſpiciat et illum cuncti [*i*]." "Sedens autem ſtat converſus ad populum, ſed etiam in loco eminentiore ut

[*g*] Ut Epiſcopus in eccleſia in confeſſu clericorum ſublimior ſedeat. Summa Concil. 152. Pariſiis, 1645.

[*h*] Here a reference is evidently made to the apoſtolic conſtitutions, attributed to St. Clement the firſt, biſhop of Rome, though not earlier than the fourth century; but had this cuſtom there mentioned not been equally in uſe when Durand lived, it is highly improbable it would have been noticed in his writings, undertaken for the inſtruction of his own time.

[*i*] Durandi Rationale, lib. II. c. xi. n. 2. Lugduni, 1612.

quaſi vineator cuſtodiat vineam ſuam et populo ſuperintendat [*k*]." The Ordo Romanus alſo marks the elevation of the epiſcopal throne; "ſurgens pontifex a ſede deſcendit ad altare:" on which de Vert remarks, that, though the altar was raiſed on a ſingle marche or platform that it might be ſeen from all parts, it was yet ever lower than the pontifical ſeat, generally raiſed on ſeveral ſteps [*l*]. This is alſo the language of the pontifical and ceremonial, and ſhews the ſituation in which the church has thought worthy ſignificantly to place her chief paſtors in every age; and though many ceremonies have become obſolete, and many conſiderably changed, and the *conſeſſus clericorum* is now not always found occupying its ancient ſituation, yet the epiſcopal ſeat in the biſhop's church, and the chair of ſtate or *faldiſtorium* uſed in actual celebration or pontifical duties in any other, have been thus elevated, and upon all occaſions fronted the people; this very mode of placing, diſtinguiſhing the epiſcopal from the ſacerdotal character. As a further confirmation, it may not, in this place, be improper to take a view of the diſpoſition and actual practices of ſeveral of the moſt famous cathedrals in France, between which, and our own country, in the affair of religion, there was a conſiderable intercourſe. In the cathedral of St. John, at Lyons, the ſanctuary or preſbytery is yet an exiſting example. The epiſcopal throne is raiſed on four ſteps at the end of the *abſis*, on each ſide of which, adjoining the wall, is a large ſtone circular bench, intended as a ſeat for a great many officers, who aſſiſt the archbiſhop when he celebrates pontifically on the three grand feſtivals of the year; viz. ſix prieſts, ſeven deacons, portcroſs, portcroſier, and chaplains: there are likewiſe ſeven ſub-deacons,

[*k*] Durand, ib. lib. IV. c. xviii. n. 1.
[*l*] Tom III. p. 38.

with

with as many *ceroferarii*, but theſe are not permitted to be ſeated with the reſt on theſe ſolemn occaſions [*m*]. In like manner in the cathedral of St. Maurice, at Vienne, the archbiſhop is thus ſeated and attended. The cathedral at Rheims affords another example; but the throne, ſituated as uſual in the *abſis*, being extremely encumbered by the monument of the cardinal Lorrain, a compliance with the ancient practice has for ſome time been diſcontinued; nor does it appear to be made uſe of, except when the archbiſhop takes poſſeſſion of his church: yet the ancient diſpoſition is preſerved by this prelate, and his chair of ſtate is fixt before the altar, facing the choir and the nave, having its back towards the Eaſt. It is thus at Laon, Soiſſons, &c. and ſeems nearly the general cuſtom. From the Ordo Romanus and Durand, it appears, that the biſhop, ſeated by the ſide of the altar, has, in like manner, a view of the people [*n*], "ſedet verſus ad populum." Such is the ſituation of the archbiſhop of Cambray, when pontifically officiating, as may be ſeen from the placing his chair, always fixed in the ſanctuary, on the epiſtle ſide, having, as has been before obſerved, at Rheims, its back to the Eaſt [*o*]. In the famous cathedral at Rouen, which has flouriſhed from the fourth age, are alſo the remains of the throne, occupying its ſo frequently inſtanced ſituation, though now forſaken for a magnificent chair or *faldiſtorium*. At the end of the choir are ſtalls of an unuſual elevation,

[*m*] Voyages Liturgiques de France, par le ſieur de Moleon, vol. XLV. à Paris, 1718.

[*n*] Il paroit par l'ordre Romain, et par ce que dit Durand, en ſon Rational Liv. cap. 18. qu'au rit Romain l'Eveſque, aſſis à coſté de l'autel, regardoit pareillement le peuple. De Vert, vol. IV. p. 26.

Should this be the ſenſe of Durand, the foregoing citations from him may not fully anſwer their intended deſign, but ſhew that the mode of fixing a chair of ſtate for the biſhop, by the ſide of the altar, was in uſe in his time.

[*o*] De Vert, vol. IV. p. 26.

erected in 1467 [*p*]. Thus alſo is ſituated the patriarchal throne at Rome; and when a celebration is performed by a biſhop in the abſence of the Pope, he is placed on one of the ſeats which ſurround the preſbytery about the altar; and conſequently on one ſide: "Pergit ad dextram altaris ad ſedem ſuam," ſays the Ordo Romanus, ſpeaking of a biſhop when the pope is not preſent [*q*]. Having offered to your conſideration ſome eminent examples in Italy and France, let us take a view of one or two at home. Formerly, in the cathedral at Norwich, the biſhop's chair was placed between the eaſternmoſt pillars of the preſbytery (of the ancient circular form) and immediately behind the high altar; it was aſcended by three ſteps, and raiſed ſo high, that before the erection of the rood-loft the biſhop could ſee directly in a line through the whole church [*r*]. But a more eminent example have we in our metropolitan church at Canterbury. In this noble church the archbiſhop had a ſeat or *faldiſtorium* at the end of the choir ſtalls. This was his place when preſent only at divine offices; but for pontifical celebrations another was provided behind the altar, ſimilarly ſituated to thoſe we have had ſo frequently under notice [*s*]. In the hiſtory of Canterbury is given the record of the inthronization of archbiſhop Winchelſea, from which, as it particularizes the uſes of both ſituations, I will offer a ſhort extract: "After the archbiſhop had proſtrated himſelf ſome time in prayer before the high altar, and given his benediction to the people, he withdrew himſelf to his wooden ſeat [*t*] in the choir, while Te Deum

[*p*] Voyages Liturg. p. 267.
[*q*] De Vert, vol. IV. p. 25.
[*r*] Blomefield's Norfolk, Hiſtory of Norwich, p. 510.
[*s*] Somner's Hiſtory of Canterbury, Appendix, Scriptura xvj.
[*t*] Sedes lignea. Ibid.

was

was performing by the convent. The archbiſhop then retires, and being clothed ſuperbly *in pontificalibus* again enters the choir, with the prior, three cardinal deacons, and as many cardinal ſubdeacons; and, while an anthem is ſinging, he, with his attendants, being turned towards the Eaſt, they make a ſtation, near the ſhrine of St. Blaze, before the marble ſeat [*u*]; to which, at length being introduced, and a ſhort ſtation being made before it, he is then ſolemnly inthroned. The whole being reduced to a public act by a notary; the maſs of the Holy Trinity is begun; the archbiſhop, before his ſeat facing the Eaſt, begins the *Gloria in Excelſis*, and reads the collects in the ſame ſituation. The Goſpel being finiſhed, he begins the Creed, and gives the *Dominus Vobiſcum:* he then deſcends from his ſeat, and, preſenting himſelf before the high altar, receives, as is cuſtomary, the offering of bread and wine from the chanter. The archbiſhop then finiſhes the whole maſs, nor returns again that day to his chair. The high altar, in this cathedral, appears to have been iſolated, as were thoſe of the earlieſt antiquity. In the room of the *ciborium* a beam or cornice was ſupported by two pillars, one at each of the Eaſtern corners; on this were placed *capſæ*, containing relicks, the whole much adorned. The metropolitan chair has alſo been removed from the place it had occupied ſo many centuries, and is now fixed at the Eaſt end of the chapel of the Trinity, oppoſite the entrance to Becket's crown [*w*].

Having

[*u*] Sedes marmorea.

[*w*] The great length of the preſbytery, in the cathedral church at Rocheſter, was, on another occaſion *, attempted to be accounted for, by ſuppoſing the altar to have been iſolated for the ſake of the Monks ſurrounding it in proceſſion; but when it is conſidered, this cathedral, as well as thoſe at Canterbury and London, owe their firſt foundations to the pious munificence of our Saxon Ethelbert,

* In the Gent. Mag. for Auguſt 1787.

and

Having ſeen the mode of uſing the pontifical throne, on the church being taken poſſeſſion of, it will be but juſt neceſſary to obſerve, that the celebrating biſhop is ſolemnly and proceſſionally introduced to the foot of the altar, where, with his attendants, having made the confeſſion, he takes his ſeat, and finiſhes the ſervice as before deſcribed. His miniſters are alſo ſeated according to their rank, whoſe number varies in different places; the throne is alſo uſed when the canonical offices of the breviary are ſaid by the biſhop.

We have now ſeen the origin and progreſs of the biſhop's ſeat as fixed in his church or cathedral. Let us, in the next place, take a view of the ſame officer occaſionally performing pontifical functions in any other, on ſome of the moſt particular occaſions from the Roman pontifical.

Ordo ad viſitandas Parochias.

Ipſo prælato ante altare in faldiſtorium genua flectente, dicitur ſequens oratio.

Qua finita pontifex ſurgens accedit ad altare majus, &c.

and were conſtructed under the immediate inſpection of Roman monks, it may not be out of the way to ſuppoſe the high altar and epiſcopal ſeat to have had, originally, a like ſituation in each of theſe famous cities, where alſo the cathedrals ſeem to have been rebuilt by their firſt Norman biſhops, and to have undergone their ſeveral vaſt ſubſequent repairs; and thus the placing theſe particulars in our metropolitan church, as they continued to the time of the reformation, may ſuggeſt their ſituation in the other two, till the ſame period; nor is the monument of a biſhop in the preſbytery at Rocheſter of any moment, when the place of the ſhrine of St. Blaze is conſidered; and, if the ſpot formerly occupied by the altar was to be pointed out, it might be, with but little room for heſitation, aſſigned to the middle of the ſanctuary, oppoſite the head of this tomb, which then lay between it and the epiſcopal chair: the ſituation of the triple ſeat, which would have been at ſo unuſual a diſtance from the altar, if ever againſt the Eaſt wall of the preſbytery, adds weight to this conjecture.

Deinde

Deinde vel in medio miſſæ verſus ad populum ſedens proponit populo cauſas adventus ſui, &c. [*x*].

De Confirmandis.

Pontifex &c.—— accedit ad faldiſtorium ante medium altaris aut in alio conveniente loco ſibi paratum et in eo ſedens renibus altare et facie ad populum verſis.

De eccleſiæ conſecratione ſeu dedicatione.

Pontifex mane in ſuo habitu quotidiano venit ad eccleſiam: ordinat in eccleſia conſecranda quæ ordinanda ſunt, et ejus juſſu accenduntur præmiſſæ duodecim candelæ; et faldiſtorium ornatum ponitur ſupra tapete in medio eccleſiæ.

Septem Pſalmis expletis redit pontifex cum miniſtris ante fores eccleſiæ conſecrandæ, et parato ibi alio ſuper tapete faldiſtorium.

Conſecratio Altaris.

Poſt hæc accepta mitra ſedet (pontifex) et miniſtri extergunt menſam altaris cum linteo mundo et mox &c.

Poſt hæc ſubdiaconi abſtergunt diligenter cum mantilibus telæ groſſæ menſam altaris. Pontifex accedit ad ſedem ſuam juxta altaris, in qua cum mitra ſedens fricat bene manus cum medulla panis, et lavat, et extergit.

De altaris conſecratione quæ fit ſine eccleſiæ dedicatione.

Pontifex mane ſuo habitu quotidiano venit ad eccleſiam, et ſedens in ſede ad dextram vel in faldiſtorio ad ſiniſtram altaris conſecrandi &c.

[*x*] Cardinalis ipſe mox aderat a loco ſancto viſitationem auſpicaturus, ubique e fugeſtu vel ſede ſuper aræ gradum poſita ſacris alloquiis populos inſtruebat; miniſtrabit eis Euchariſtæ ſacramentum, eccleſiæ novellos milites chriſmate ſacro inungebat. Vita Cardinalis Bellarmini Capuæ Epiſcopi, p. 289. Antwerpiæ, 1631.

Pontifex cum miniſtris accedit coram altare conſecrando: qua dicta, pontifex procumbit ſuper faldiſtorium ibidem (viz. before the altar, as in the laſt rubric) præparatum; poſt hæc pontifex accedit ad ſedem ſuam juxta altare.

In conferring orders the biſhop is directed by the pontifical "accepta mitra accedere ad ſedem ſuam vel ad fa diſtorium in cornu epiſtolæ;" by which it ſeems to be underſtood that he is, if in his cathedral church, at liberty to uſe either his fixed ſeat or throne, or a ſtate chair temporally placed at the epiſtle horn of the altar, which latter direction points out the cuſtom of performing this rite in any other, or in the private chapels of epiſcopal manſions. This remark may tend to diffuſe ſome light on the pontifical rubric for the conſecration of an altar without the church, being at the ſame time dedicated, as it leads to a ſuppoſition, that if the altar was in the preſbytery of the cathedral, the biſhop is very naturally directed to ſeat himſelf in the pontifical throne, viz. "in ſede ad dextram," but, that when this is wanting, as it ever is out of the biſhop's church, a faldiſtorium is to be placed on the oppoſite ſide, which therefore muſt have been the mode in every other. The biſhop is thus alſo placed while attending maſs.

"Latus epiſtolæ congruit a qua parte eſt credentia, et ut cedat latus evangelii epiſcopo ſedenti ſi adſit." (Gaventi Comment. in Rubricas, Part I. Tit. xvii. No. VI. viz. "In miſſa item ſolemni celebrans medius inter diaconum et ſubdiaconum ſedere poteſt, &c.") However, it may yet be contended that the ſeats hereafter to be particularly deſcribed, notwithſtanding they do not front the people, an etiquette which ſeems to have been particularly obſerved by the antients, though poſſibly not ſo ſtrictly adhered to in very modern times, were an accommodation for the maſs to be ſaid immediately

diately after the conſecration of the church or altar; but to this it may be replied, that the performance of this firſt celebration is left to the biſhop's option, a proviſo being thus made in caſe of over-fatigue from the weight of foregoing ceremonial; as alſo ſince it appears from Durand (Ration. l. ii. c. 12,) and modern cuſtom, that the biſhop is at leaſt attended at the altar in ſolemn maſſes, ſuch as would have been then performed by at leaſt three miniſters; viz. an aſſiſting prieſt, who is ſeated on his right, a deacon and ſubdeacon alſo ſeated on his left, it muſt follow, that upon this notion theſe arches could never have been fewer than four in number. In low or private maſſes, the biſhop, cardinal, &c. is placed in the middle ſpace before the altar, from whom the prieſt, having received permiſſion, begins the maſs *A Cornu Evangelii* [*x*].

To an abbot, there is reaſon to think, was conceded much the ſame obſervance in the rite of ſitting, as to the epiſcopal dignity, poſſibly in conſideration of his paſtoral charge [*y*]. In the collegiate church of St. Peter at Vienne is a ſeat of white marble, elevated on three ſteps behind the altar at the Eaſt end of the *abſis*. This church was formerly a famous Benedictine abbey of near 500 monks; and here was the abbot placed at maſs on the great ſolemnities. The church of St. Stephen at Dijon, formerly likewiſe an abbey, now collegiate and parochial, has the grand altar in the middle of the choir. There is alſo an abbé in this church, who has a right to the mitre and croſs as at Vienne, whoſe ſeat, at the bottom of the *abſis*, has on each ſide a circular bench for the

[*x*] See Gavanti Commentaria in Rubricas, p. 2. tit. iii. No. II. viz. De principio miſſæ et confeſſione facienda; et Archæolog. vol. X. p. 305. et ſeq.

[*y*] Selon le cérémoniale de Burſfield. L'Abbé aſſis à l'autel doit de mêſme faire face au choeur. De Vert, tom. IV. p. 36.

uſe of the canons, anciently named the preſbytery, and *conſeſſus clericorum.*

Theſe laſt remarks are introduced as ſhewing the pomp in which the head of a monaſtery was allowed to celebrate, and as probably leading to a diſcovery of the purpoſe for which Edward I. preſented the chair of ſtate to the mitred abbey church of Weſtminſter. Chairs of this kind were, however, provided for the celebrating prieſt in many of thoſe churches where high maſs was celebrated daily, as it ſeems the deacon and ſubdeacon were frequently placed on the choir ſtalls neareſt the altar; but on the Sundays and Feſtivals they were ſeated with the prieſt, as will be ſhortly noticed.

It is a certain fact, were nothing farther to be advanced, it would be evident that the ſeats which grace ſo many of our ancient cathedral, collegiate, but particularly our parochial churches, and formed ſuch ſuitable appendages for the more ſolemn celebration of the divine rites of the former religion of this country, could never be intended for the uſe of the dioceſan, or any other epiſcopal character by him delegated to the diſcharge of pontifical duties out of the cathedral. But as it is now time to take the more immediate ſubject of this paper into conſideration, permit me once again to draw your regard to the ſame ſacred ſource, primitive inſtitution; whence I flatter myſelf I ſhall be equally well enabled to point out the mode of placing the miniſters of the altar and their attendants.

In the ſo frequently cited *abſis* of the ancient church was, on either hand of the epiſcopal throne, a curved bench, whoſe uſe, as has been already pointed out, was for accommodating the concelebrating clergy with ſeats, from which ſervice is derived their appellation of *Synthronus* and *Conſeſſus*. The church, it may be remembered, is directed to be turned to-

wards the Eaſt, and that there ſhall be on either hand a chamber, chapel, or ſacriſty, as a repoſitory for the ſacred veſtments and veſſels, as alſo for the preparation of the clergy for the altar. The chamber on the South ſide of the *abſis* appears generally to have been appropriated to this purpoſe; conveniency particularly directing, that the ſacriſty ſhould be on the right of the altar, for the greater eaſe of the prieſt in celebration. Thus, among the Greeks, is always placed the ſacriſty or *diaconicon*, and on the oppoſite the *protheſis* or altar of preparation. In many of the Latin churches mentioned by Paulinus, there was on either hand of the ſanctuary a chamber or ſacriſty, the one being a depoſit for the ſacred writings, the other for the miniſtry, *alma ſacri pompa miniſterii* [z]. A liſt of eminent churches in France, whoſe veſtries are on the South ſide, is given by De Vert [a], and the like rule it is likely was frequently obſerved at home. To this original diſpoſition of the ſacriſty is owing the preference given to the right or South ſide of the altar for the performance of all the parts of the divine offices not ſaid at the altar itſelf. To this the reading the Goſpel being almoſt the only exception: For, the right or South ſide, the preſbytery firſt preſenting itſelf to the prieſt and his miniſters in their progreſs from the ſacriſty for the celebration of high maſs, they ſtopped ſhort naturally, placing themſelves there for the commencement of the ſervice [b], where they remained till

[z] Le Brun, v. II. p. 69.

[a] IV. 24.

[b] IV. Demande.

Il revient toujours à ſavoir pourquoy les miniſtres ſe plaçoient a gauche dans le ſanctuaire, ou preſbytere, c'eſt à dire en la partie méridionale de l'Egliſe que l'on ſuppoſe encore icy tournée à l'orient?

till about the offertory [*c*]; this choice, having conveniency alone for its baſis, appears afterwards to have become the ſettled cuſtom; and, independent of the ſituation of the ſacriſty, it was ſufficient that the celebrant and his miniſters coming to the altar ſhould find this ſide on their right, for naturally taking poſſeſſion of it for the above purpoſe. It might, however, ſeem more proper, that the prieſt ſhould be placed at the bottom of the church above the altar, that he might thus have the people in face, rather than be ſeated ſideways, where he can neither ſee nor be ſeen but obliquely. But this appears to be the privilege of the pope at Rome, and the biſhops in their cathedrals; ſo that, as it has been before obſerved, a biſhop officiating in the abſence of the Pope, or a ſimple prieſt in the abſence of the biſhop, is obliged to be ſeated on one of the ſeats which terminate the circuit of the preſbytery [*d*] near the altar, and conſequently on one ſide.

" Pergit

Reſponſe.

C'eſt que ce coſté là ſe préſentoit la premiere au ſortir de la ſacriſtie, qui plus ordinairement éſtoit ſituée à droit en entrant dans l'Egliſe; en ſorte que le preſtre aux maſſes hautes s'y arreſtoit tout court avec ſes miniſtres pour commencer la meſſe, & y reſter comme nous avons dit juſque à l'oſſrande. Mais, indépendemment de la ſituation de la ſacriſtie, il ſuffiſoit meſme que le pretre & ſes miniſtres, arrivant à l'autel, trouvaſſent ce coſté là à leur droite pour aller tout naturellement s'y placer. De Vert, IV.—23.

[*c*] See plan, pl. XIV. fig. 1, where their ſtation is marked by A. B. C. which agrees exactly in poſition and ſituation with the yet remaining ſeats in our chancels, ſhews the antiquity of the practices to which they owe their riſe, and wholly accounts for their original deſign.

V. Demande.

[*d*] N'éſtoit-il pas plus convenable que le preſtre ſe plaçaſſet tout au fond de l'Egliſe & au de là meſme de l'autel, pour avoir ainſi tout le peuple en face; que non pas, qu'il ſe miſt à coſté d'où il ne pouvoit ni voir ni eſtre vû qu'obliquement & de biais?

Reſponſe.

" Pergit ad dextram ad ſedem ſuam," ſays the Roman order ſpeaking of a biſhop; " non ſedet in ſede poſt altare," ſays the ſame order, ſpeaking of a ſimple prieſt. Again, " non dicit orationem poſt altare ſed in dextro latere altaris," that is, on the ſide which is on the right of the prieſt officiating at the altar.

Having, in the detail already given of the pontifical throne, pointed out at the ſame time the antiquity of the *conſeſſus*, as being ever annexed to it, and alſo ſhewn how occupied in the rite of ſitting, practiſed by the celebrants in the abſence of the biſhop [*e*], or when he did not perſonally officiate; let us now take an example or two from ſeveral of the moſt famous churches in France. In the cathedral of St. John at Lyons, the celebrating prieſt is daily ſeated at the end of the ſtone-bench on the epiſtle ſide, who has on one hand a deſk for reading the epiſtle, and, except the *introit* and communion, he reads nothing elſe at the altar. On double feſtivals the officiant has on his right half the celebrating prieſts, and on their right the deacon, being a canon, with half the deacons; the remaining aſſiſtant prieſts and deacons are placed facing them on the other ſide, the ſubdeacons are never ſeated with them, but ſtand behind the

Reſponſe.

Cela auroit eſté plus régulier à la vérité, mais c'eſt qu'il n'y avoit que le Pape à Rome & l'Eveſques en leur propre égliſe qui puſſent ainſi occuper le fond, c'eſt à dire, le throſne pontifical qui y eſtoit placé; en ſorte qu'un Eveſque officiant à Rome en l'abſence du Pape, & un ſimple Preſtre officiant en Egliſe Cathédrale au défaut de l'Eveſque, eſtoit obligé de ſe mettre dans l'un des ſieges qui terminoient l'enceinte du preſbytere vers l'autel, & par conſequent à coſté, ainſi qu'on pratique encore à Lyon & à Vienne en Dauphiné. De Vert, IV. 25.

[*e*] Every pariſh-church may be conſidered in the ſame point of view, with regard to the performance of the ceremonial of religion, as the cathedral in the biſhop's abſence, and muſt have had the ſame uſages, as far as their reſpective endowments would permit.

altar.

altar [*f*]. This I preſume will appear to be no bad explanation of the yet remaining arches in the preſbytery in Durham cathedral [*g*]. The like ſituation of the clergy in celebrating in the cathedral of St. Maurice at Vienne, in the abſence of the archbiſhop, may in like manner be noticed. It may be recollected, that at Rheims the archbiſhop makes no farther uſe of his chair in the *abſis*; yet the celebrating prieſt is in that cathedral ſeated as at Lyons, and has alſo a ſmall deſk for reading the commencement of the maſs to the *ſecreta*. In low maſſes, ſays father De Vert, it was altogether very natural to obſerve at the altar the ſame ſituation as in ſolemn maſſes they did in the preſbytery, where they ſat on the benches of ſtone, or wood, circularly arranged [*h*].

To mark the preciſe time when this diſpoſition of the *abſis* became obſolete, is by no means in my power, though it may be ſuppoſed, ſince it has reached our days, in particular places it gradually fell off, giving place rather to new ſituation than new ceremonial. Certain it is the iſolated altar and circular *abſis* could not well be complied with but in very large churches [*i*]; and, if the ſucceeding rite of the biſhop being ſeated with his clergy on the South ſide of the altar may not have ſo high an antiquity to plead in its favour, yet it certainly has far more on the ſcore of convenience.

However the ancient cuſtom ſeems to have obtained in the erection of churches, particularly when extenſive, in moſt parts of the world, it paſſed, no doubt, from Rome, among other modes of church-building, into this country, and was

[*f*] Voyages Liturg. 45.
[*g*] Archæologia, vol. X.
[*h*] IV. p. 23.
[*i*] See plan of an ancient church. Plate XIV. fig. 1.

alſo

alſo a ſecond time brought here from Normandy. And thus it is that a ſemicircular Eaſt end is a voucher for genuine antiquity. The firſt Gothic churches ſeem to have followed the Norman in this particular, and it even ſeems to have paſſed into the parochial and ſmaller religious edifices. The Eaſt end of the chapel of St. Bartholomew in Chatham, which claims the venerable Gundulph for its founder, is thus erected [*k*]; as alſo the Eaſt end of Eynesford church, of early Gothic; though it is by no means pretended that this was the uniform method of the firſt churches of this country. Thoſe of Darent and Bicknor, equally ancient, are in the common way, as are poſſibly numbers, though it ſeems worthy remark, that the idea of the *abſis*, or vault, is preſerved by the groined arch over the ſpot occupied in Darent church by the altar, as it was in the old pariſh church at Chatham, erected ſo late as about 1351; as alſo by a like more extenſive vaulting in cathedral and other large churches, which Mr. Fuller terms *concameratio*.

From this trifling digreſſion in favour of the antiquity of the fabric of many of our Engliſh churches, I ſhall beg leave to turn the enquiry to that mode of being ſeated directly applicable to the inveſtigation of the uſes of the *ſedilia*, ſo frequently found in our chancels and chauntries, and particularly to the almoſt unique remains at Chalk. We have ſeen already the origin of being ſeated, and the reaſonable preference given to the right, South, or epiſtle ſide; it has alſo been ſhewn, that the preſent rite has not only ſucceeded, but been derived from, that of the primitive church; and it remains but to

[*k*] This ancient little remain was erected by Hugh de Teſt-ſclive, monk of St. Andrew's, Rocheſter, before the year 1125, when he became abbot of S^t. Auguſtine's, Canterbury. Regiſtrum Roffenſe, 119.

obſerve,

obſerve, that the preſbytery in every church was the place where the prelate had his chair, with the ſeats for the other miniſters, whether as in the ancient mode or only on one ſide, as with the Chartreux and Jacobins, or as the ſeat of the biſhop with thoſe of the prieſts, and other miniſters are placed, who obſerve the Roman rite [*l*]. In the thirteenth century it appears from Durand, that according to theſe rites the biſhop or prieſt is ſeated after the collect, during the epiſtle, and thence until the beginning of the Goſpel [*m*]. Though the firſt Roman order does not ſeem to direct any thing to be performed near the altar but the Confeſſion and Collects, which yet continues to be the cuſtom of ſeveral famous churches, ſtudious of antiquity; and various are the cuſtoms in France, both in the churches of the ſeculars and regulars. We had in like manner the rites of our particular churches

[*l*] Et c'eſt de ce coſté-là que le célébrant ſe place encore avec ſes miniſtres & meſme l'Eveſque, ſurtout au Rit Romain. De Vert, IV. 26.

On appelle proprement Preſbytere le lieu où eſt le ſiege du prélat accompagné des bancs des prêtres, & autres miniſtres, ſoit que ce ſiege ſoit derriere l'autel comme à Lyon, à Vienne, &c. ſoit qu'il ſoit à coſté comme chez les Chartreux, les Jacobins, et, en un mot, comme eſt le fauteuil des Eveſques & autres preſtres, ou miniſtres, qui ſuivent le Rit Romain. De Vert, IV. 18.

From the foregoing conſiderations, and this definition of the Preſbytery, it appears as if every one not concerned in the immediate ſervice of the altar was excluded from this part of the church; and, ſhould this be the caſe, it would have been impoſſible for the perſonages to whoſe uſe the ſedilia at Rocheſter and Maidſtone were allotted to have been there placed, unleſs concerned in actual celebration. See Archæologia, X. 261, et ſeq.

[*m*] Oratione finita ſacerdos ſeu epiſcopus ſedit, et notandum quod in miſſæ officio tribus horis ſedet, videlicet dum epiſtola, et dum reſponſorium, & alleluia, cantantur. Durand, Ration. IV. 4. cxvii. n. i.

Hactenus, dum epiſtola lecta fuerit, et choro graduale pſallente, ſacerdos tacitus ad dextram partem ſedebit altaris.

Poſt dictam ergo ſequentiam ſurgens ſacerdos, ad ſiniſtram altaris partem accedens, pronunciat evangelium. Idem, L. IV. c. xxiii.

at

at home, and a ſimilar diverſity might have taken place among us. Examples of ſeats occur frequently in the relations of religious buildings. The canons of Laon and Verdun, as alſo the monks of Marhienne, uſe a reading-deſk attached to the ſeat or bench of the celebrating prieſt, for his conveniency in reading thoſe parts of the maſs of the Catechumens not performed at the altar [*n*]. The celebrant's ſeat at Cambray was accommodated in the ſame manner. At the Chartreux at Dijon facing the altar, on the Epiſtle ſide, is a large ancient chair, magnificently carved, for ſeating the prieſt during the Epiſtle [*o*]; and at ſmall altars, where low maſs is uſually ſaid, there is neither deſk nor ſeat [*p*]. It is alſo to be underſtood, that when the deacon and ſubdeacon were not engaged in reading the Epiſtle, Goſpel, &c. at the *ambon*, or in other duties, they were during this ſeated with the celebrating prieſt; though in ſome places they appear to have uſed the ſtalls in the choir for this purpoſe, particularly on the leſs ſolemn days, when the prieſt uſed one of the above deſcribed chairs [*q*]. The rubricks of the miſſals

[*n*] De Vert, IV. 20.

[*o*] Voyag. Liturg. p. 56.

[*p*] De Vert, IV. 18.

[*q*] Seſſio miniſtrorum ſignificat ſeſſionem ipſorum quibus dicitur, "Sedebitis vos ſuper ſedes judicantes xii tribus Iſrael." Quidam ergo miniſtrorum cum Epiſcopo ſedent. Durandi Rational. Lib. IV. cxviii. n. 2.

It is extremely common with the old writers to mention the biſhops on the occaſion of every duty; but this, as Mr. Johnſton in his Eccleſiaſtical Law remarks, is little more than a form of ſpeaking.

Le prêtre alloit enſuite au coté droit de l'autel, ſuivi du diacre, qui ſe tenoit debout juſqu'à ce que le célébrant lui fit ſigne de s'aſſeoir. Voyages Liturg. 283.

Incipiente ſubdiacono epiſtolam, ſacerdos juxta altare ſedeat, et diacono in loco ſuo ſedere innuat. Miſſale Rotomagenſe. Ibid.

ſals reſtored by the council of Trent, and firſt publiſhed by Pius V. in 1570, ſeem to have directed the prieſt and his miniſters only to be ſeated during the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Credo*, though the people are allowed this indulgence during the Epiſtle. It is, however, noticed by Le Brun, in oppoſition to De Vert, that in the firſt edition of theſe Miſſals, in 1570, the celebrating clergy are allowed alſo to be ſeated as anciently during the Epiſtle. The following extract from an approved author, being explicit on the modern practice in this rite, which differed but little from the ancient, is here given as tending to a further illuſtration of this ſubject: "Si ſedendum erit, parato ſcamno oblongo in plano capellæ poſtquam celebrans dixerit ſecreta, hymnum angelicum, &c. deſcendunt unus poſt alium per breviorem viam a latere epiſtolæ ad ſedem paratam, in qua ſedent co-operto capite, &c. Quæ omnia & in ſymbolo ſunt obſervanda. Sedet celebrans medius inter diaconum a dextris et ſubdiaconum; a ſiniſtris, ſtant acolythi regulariter apud credentiam [*r*]."

The church of St. Spire at Corbeil has three ſeats for the officiating prieſts on the Epiſtle ſide of the altar [*s*]. Theſe are of wood, like three pews, the middle one higher than the reſt, and are ſuppoſed of the age of Francis I.

One example more may ſerve to bring this amply home to the uſes of the ſeats in ſo many of our churches.

In the cathedral at Sens, oppoſite the high altar on the Epiſtle ſide is a beautiful bench, large and long, compoſed of

Pendant le *Gloria in excelſis* et le *Credo* le célébrant & le diacre ſont aſſis,—auſſi bien que le ſoudiacre quand il y eſt. Voyage Liturg. 362.

[*r*] Gavanti commentaria in rubricas Miſſalis et Breviarii Rom. Par. I. Tit. ii. N° 7. Pariſiis, 1636.

[*s*] Antiquités Nationales, by Aubin Louis Millin, vol. II. N° XXI. p. 17.

five

five ſeats, each lower than the ſucceeding, of which the firſt, which is higheſt, is for the celebrant, and the other for two deacons, and as many ſubdeacons; directly below is the chair of the archbiſhop, which is of well-executed joinery, and equally beautiful [*t*]. This appears to ſignify, that there being no marks of the ſedile at Canterbury is not owing to the metropolitan chair being placed behind the altar; there poſſibly was never any fixed, or, if there were, Blue Dick, one of the Calviniſtic holders-forth of ſedition and ſacrilege, fixed by authority in that place, or the other friends of old Oliver, may poſſibly give ſome account of them.

But to return again to Sens; this beautiful *conſeſſus* is not always occupied, but on the more ſolemn feſtivals; at other times, when the celebrant is ſeated in the firſt place neareſt the altar, the deacon takes the ſecond, and the ſub-deacon the third. Alſo in the famous monaſtery of Cluny, on the grand feaſts, there are, as at Sens, two deacons and two ſub-deacons, and here the deacon and ſub-deacon of office read the Epiſtle and Goſpel. As nothing can more fully ſhew the purpoſes of our uſually-found three ſeats, while it explains the quintuple ſedile, very rarely found; little need farther be ſaid than juſt to aim at accounting for the variety in the number of the compartments in the different *conſeſſus*, as alſo in their application; and, that this may be done with little expence of quotation and deduction, I ſhall ſelect a few of the articles or queries publiſhed in France, ſomewhat prior to the year 1727, by the reverend and learned

[*t*] Dans l'Egliſe cathédrale de St. Etienne, vis-à-vis du grand autel, du côté de l'Epitre, il y a un fort beau banc, grand & long, compoſé de cinque ſieges, toujours en baiſſant, dont le premier, qui eſt le plus haut, eſt pour le célébrant, et les autres pour les diacres & ſoudiacres. Immédiatement au deſſous eſt la chaire de l'Archevêque, qui eſt aſſez belle, & de menuiſerie bien travaillée.

Voyages Liturgiques de France, p. 161.

father Peter Le Brun, then compoſing his celebrated "Literal, Hiſtoric, and Dogmatic Explication of the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Maſs," which, amounting to one hundred and eleven, are printed at the end of his firſt volume [*u*].

10. Where is the biſhop placed when he officiates at maſs, and when at other offices, and when he does not officiate at all? Is it under a canopy, or without, on a *faldiſtorium*?

11. If the prieſt, deacon, or ſub-deacon, are ſeated on fixed ſeats, or on a bench, or chair of ſtate, or chairs without backs, on ſtools, or in the ſtalls in the choir?

12. Whether the prieſt is ſeated above the deacon and ſub-deacon, or between them [*x*]?

13. If there are any honorary deacons or ſub-deacons, how many, and at what feſtivals, if they are called *induts*, precedents, or otherwiſe, and what are their duties?

[*u*] Avis ſur un ouvrage, &c.

10. Où ſe met l'Evêque quand il officie à la meſſe, quand il officie aux autres offices, & quand il n' officie pas? S'il eſt ſous dais, ou ſeulement ſur un fauteuil ſans dais?

11. Si le prêtre, le diacre, le ſoudiacre, s'aſſeient ſur des ſieges fixes, ou ſur un banc, ſur des fauteuils, chaiſes à dos, des tabourets, ou ſur les ſtalles au chœur?

12. Se le prêtre s'aſſied au deſſus du diacre & du ſoudiacre, ou au milieu d'eux?

13. Sil y a des diacres & ſoudiacres d'honneur? combien? à quelles fêtes? ſi on les appelle induts précédens, ou autrement, & quelles ſont leurs fonctions?

[*x*] Notwithſtanding the Roman miſſals after the council of Trent direct the celebrant to be ſeated between the deacon and ſub-deacon, and that, in the prefatory items from the regiſter of the congregation of rites, a deviation from its rubrics is declared an abuſe, it may be ſeen from the twelfth query, and the cuſtom at Sens, Cambray, &c. that the order of ſitting was not only different, but that the ancient mode is yet in many places adhered to; and it may alſo begin to appear, that the original and ſubſequent uſes of the *ſedilia* were ever the ſame.

To the uſe of the officers [*y*] mentioned in the laſt quoted article is generally owing, that in many places the *conſeſſus* has more than three compartments; but, as the Reverend Mr. Robertſon has already in the letter he once favoured me with on this ſubject, ſince printed in the 10th volume of the Archæologia, whoſe authority is of more than ſufficient weight on this ſubject, accounted amply for this variation, nothing need farther be adduced.

Hitherto have I held your attention fixed in the cathedral, abbey, and collegiate church, among prelates and dignitaries, where the extended endowment was every way capable of providing whatever might be eſteemed requiſite for the "ſerene and holy pomp of the ſacred miniſtry [*z*]."

[*y*] It may not be deemed improper in this place to offer a hint or two concerning the uſes of the officers alluded to as a farther explanation.

De officio aſſiſtentis Preſbyteri. Tit. I.

Cum in eccleſiis cathedralibus plerumque aſſiſtentes ejuſmodi adhibeantur & de iiſdem in rubricis generalibus nulla fiat mentio, ceremoniale epiſcoporum pauci ad manus habeant, placet eorum officium breviter hic apponere.

Primo itaque officium illius eſt miſſam providere, ſignacula diſponere & in aliis ſub miſſa faciendis celebrantem dirigere,——ſed cum celebrans hymnum angelicum dicit expectat ad librum donec ad ſedendum accedit tunc enim et ipſe ſupra ſcabellum nudum capite cooperto ſedere poterit.

De officio ceremonii. Tit. VI.

Ante omnia indutus ſuperpellicio quærit & ſignat in miſſale & libro evangeliorum quæ ſunt cantanda vel legenda, deinde videt an omnia ſint parata, preſertim pro celebrante, &c.

Si ad *Kyrie eleiſon* vel *Gloria* ſedendum ſit, ipſe ſubdiaconum in ſedendo juvat, Dalmaticum attollendo; tum dilgenter attendit ad verba *Adoramus*, *Gratias*, *Jeſu Chriſte*, *ſuſcipe*, & ex ſuo loco ſurgens, &c.

Inſtructio practica de SS. Miſſ. ſacrif. a Tobia Lohner, Soc. Jeſ. Sacer. Pars iii.

The ceremonial mentioned by this author was originally the Ordo Romanus, many of which were publiſhed in different ages, and at length, being encreaſed, is printed under the above title. Le Brun, vol. I.

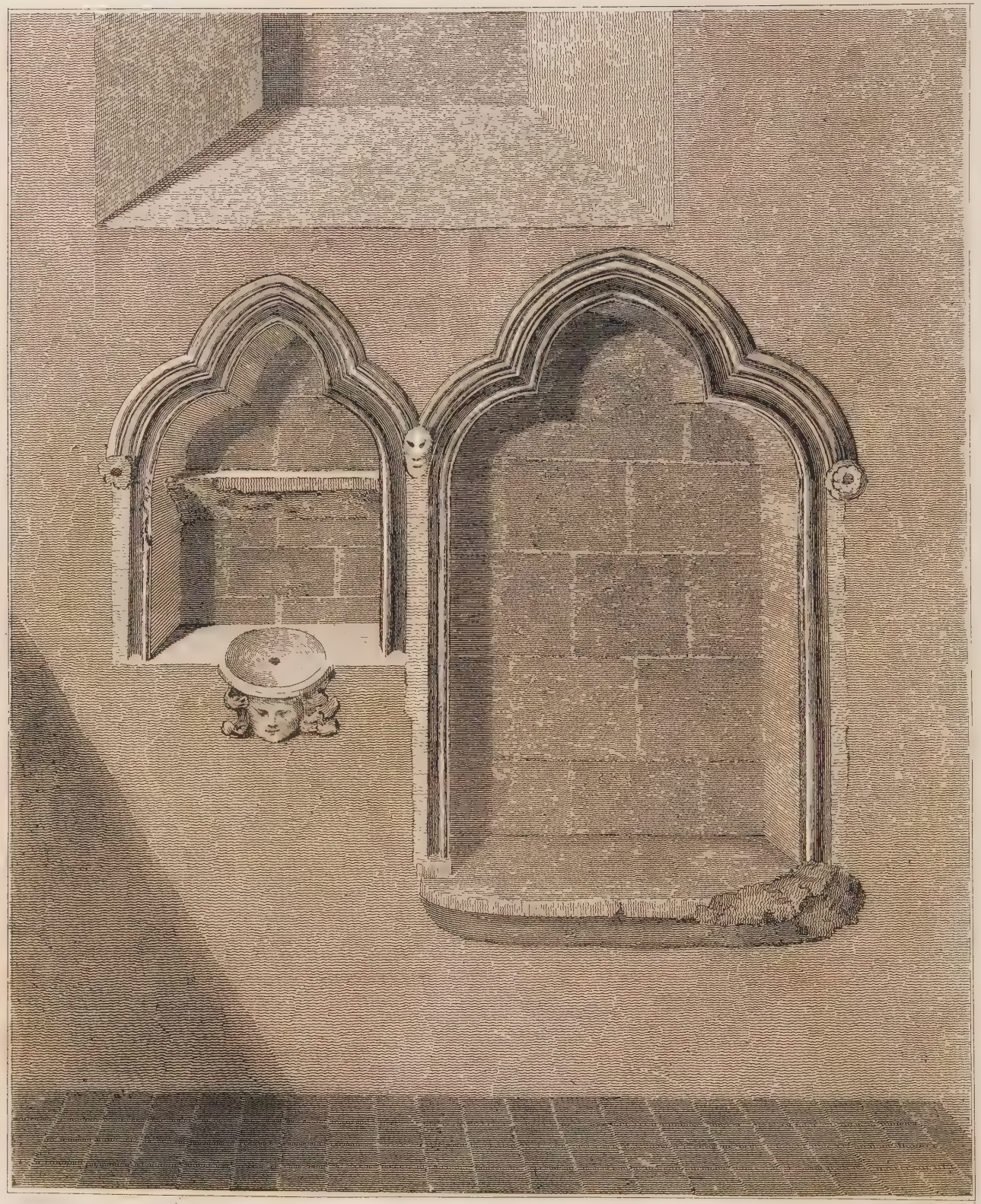
[*z*] Paulinus ut ſupra.

Let

Let us now decline a little into the country, and endeavour to trace out how far the ceremonies of the church relative to our ſubject were complied with among the poor. Nor is it to be expected in every place, that the benefice, ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupport decently the maintenance of a ſingle incumbent, ſhould afford ſuſtenance for the number generally neceſſary upon ſolemn celebrations; nor are we to ſearch for thoſe marks by which it is evident ſo many were formerly engaged, which muſt have been ever regulated by the profits of the cure. Thus it appears, that the Prophecies, Epiſtles, and Collects, uſually apart in ſeparate books, were firſt joined together into one volume or miſſale, for the accommodation of the prieſt, unaſſiſted at the altar, particularly in country churches, where they rather fell ſhort in ſufficient miniſters for reading the lectures than in the choir for chanting the *Introit*, *Gradual*, &c. This is what we obſerve generally happening in the villages, and even in poor pariſhes in the cities, where at the *ambon* ſufficient are generally found, but by no means deacon or ſub-deacon at the altar. It is true, in the end, the curate remitted the reading the Epiſtle to the maſter of the ſchool, or to the clerk, or even to a youth capable of reading, though he could not in like manner diſcharge himſelf from the reading the Goſpel, though formerly this was done by a ſimple reader, as that of the Epiſtles and Prophets [*a*]. That is, in the words of Mr. Robertſon, the

[*a*] Parceque, ſur tout dans les Egliſes de Campagne, on manquoit bien plutôt de miniſtres pour faire les lectures que non pas de chantres pour chanter l'Introit, le graduel, & le reſte. C'eſt ce que nous voyons tous les jours arriver dans les villages, & meſme dans les pauvres paroiſſes des villes, où il ſe trouve toujours aſſez de monde au lutrin, mais point de diacre ni de ſoudiacre à l'autel. Il eſt vray, dans la ſuite, le curé s'eſt remis de la lecture de l'épitre au magiſter ou clerc, ou enfin à un ſimple enfant qui ſçeut lire, &c. De Vert IV. 62.

choir



Single Seat & Piscina, in the South chancel wall, at Chalk church, Kent.

Seats in Norwood's chantry, in Milton church, Kent.

choir performed the part of ſubdeacon, and the prieſt that of celebrant and deacon, which exactly accounts for the neceſſity for but a ſingle ſeat; as alſo is a mark of the poverty of the benefice, and applies moſt obviouſly to our venerable little remain at Chalk [*b*].

After reading the laſt quotation from De Vert, let us not longer doubt, but in the explanation of the double *conſeſſus*, an example of which is given from Norwood's chauntry in Milton church, near Sittingbourne in this county, Pl. XVI. Mr. Robertſon is equally ſucceſsful, as he now confidently appears to have been in his account of every other, from authorities from which there reaſonably lies no appeal [*c*]. In conferring orders the biſhop makes a more frequent

[*b*] A view of this ſeat, and piſcina, is given in Pl. XV.

[*c*] That in churches better endowed, beſides the celebrant, one performed the part of deacon and ſub-deacon; in ſuch churches were two ſeats.

See Letter, ut ſupra, Archæologia, vol. X.

By the 17th of Archbiſhop Langton's conſtitutions, made in 1222, it was decreed, that in every church which has a large pariſh there be two or three prieſts, according to the largeneſs of the pariſh and ſtate of the church.

Johnſon's Eccleſiaſtical Law.

This goes a great way in accounting for the varieties in the *ſedilia*. In the ordination of vicarages proper allowances were made for the ſupport of this burthen. "Subeant autem præfati vicarii (de Faverſham) onus deſerviendi per ſe et duos preſbyteros idoneos præfatæ eccleſiæ in divinis." X Script. col. 2093.

The prioreſs and convent of Davington were obliged, by the appropriation of that church to their uſe, to find three prieſts and four clerks for the performance of divine offices. Haſted's Hiſtory of Kent, vol. II. p. 729.

The church of Tunſtall in Kent was endowed for a rector and vicar.

Rowe Mores's Hiſtory, p. 45.

Subeant autem præfati vicarii (de Middletone, viz. Milton near Sittingburne), onus deſervendi per ſe et alium preſbyterum idoneum eidem eccleſiæ in divinis.

X Script. col. 2094.

Alſo

quent uſe of a ſeat, or a *faldiſtorium*, than in any other of his epiſcopal duties. If then the *ſedilia* were requiſite for the biſhop in every pariſh church, and even at every altar, according to the opinion which has your concurrence, why do we not find the like accommodation in the ruined chapel in Halling palace, where, by the biſhop's regiſter, it appears many were admitted to the ſacred functions [*d*]? A piſcina is there

Alſo in the endowment of chauntries the number of chaplains varied, and paſſing thoſe for one prieſt, which were common, it may be worthy of remark, that, in the church of the Crutched Friers in Colcheſter, was in the time of Henry II. a chauntry of five prieſts, founded by the fraternity of St. Helen's gild. Morant's Colcheſter, p. 156.

The chauntry founded in the church of St. Catharine near the Tower, by John Holland Duke of Exeter, was for four. Royal Wills, p. 287.

There was in the chapel of All Souls at the Bridge foot, in Rocheſter, a chauntry, founded by Sir John Cobham in 1397, for three chaplains, who were to perform canonical hours, and ſay maſſes for the ſoul of the founder, thoſe of his family, and of all the faithful departed. Regiſtrum Roffenſe, p. 555.

Alſo in the church of Stoke in the hundred of Hoo, was a chauntry founded for two prieſts for the above purpoſes. Regiſtrum Roffenſe, p. 623.

[*d*] The vicinity of churches to epiſcopal manſions, with the remote and uncertain alluſions to heraldic bearings, and regal and epiſcopal portraitures, has often, among our moſt celebrated antiquaries, afforded a ſolution of the uſes of the *ſedilia*.

But in Halling church there never was a ſedile.

In Gillingham church, where biſhop Walter de Merton received conſecration, but three poor ſeats.

In the fine church at Croydon none, unleſs removed for the monument of an archbiſhop after the Reformation; but this is unlikely, as being too near the Eaſt end of the great chancel.

In Lambeth none; their place is occupied by the monument of John Mompeſſon, Eſq. who died in 1524.

In the preparation of the chapel of Lambeth palace, for the conſecration of archbiſhop Parker, it is noticed, that four chairs were ſet to the *South* of the *Eaſt*

there to be ſeen in its uſual place. It is alſo to be remarked, there were titular biſhops in this country. Theſe were gentlemen poſſeſſing epiſcopal faculties, frequently deputed to ſupply the place of the biſhop of the dioceſe in ſuch affairs as the conſecrations and reconciliations of churches, confirmations, &c. And as the uſe of theſe epiſcopal vicars muſt have rendered the preſence of the dioceſan in great meaſure problematical, ſo the reſpect ſo juſtly his due could have but weakly operated as an inducement for erecting perennial ſeats for his accommodation [*e*].

I will now, Sir, conclude this aim at an hiſtorical inveſtigation of the epiſcopal and ſacerdotal *ſedilia* by one or two obſervations, tending towards an illuſtration of their names. When it is conſidered that our ſeats are originally derived from the ancient *conſeſſus clericorum*, both with regard to ſituation and uſe, may they not properly be diſtinguiſhed by that term from the *ſubſellia* or ſtalls in the choir, ſince the term *conſeſſus* is applied to the benches on which the clergy were placed, in the ſame mode as *eccleſia*, ſignifying an aſſembly of people, is to the material edifice of the church known by that name [*f*]. It may be alſo urged, as another proof of their ancient deſcent,

Eaſt part of the chapel for the biſhops, to whom the office of conſecrating the archbiſhop was committed. Strype's Life, p. 57.

Had there been a ſedile in this place, chairs would have been unneceſſary; and there certainly would, had it been a cuſtomary accompaniment in the diſcharge of epiſcopal duties ſo frequently there performed.

[*e*] To the ſuffragan for hallowing the church-yarde, and other implements of the churche, —— —— £. 0 s. 30 d. 0

Churchwardens Accounts of St. Helens Abington, Berks. Archæologia, vol. I. p. 13.

Paid for hallowing St. Mary Kirk Garth to the Suffragan — 0 30 0

Account of Louth ſteeple, Archæologia, vol. X. p. 91.

[*f*] Continens pro re contenta.

and conſequently of their claim to the ſame title that our ſeats, with their canopies and vaultings, are in the ſame ſtyle of finiſh and decoration as were the tribunals or *abſides* about the *conceſſus*. Examples of the beautiful moſaic paintings which occur on theſe parts in the Italian churches till about the ninth century, are to be ſeen in Ciampini, and may be compared to the moſaics, but particularly to the depicted repreſentations of biſhops and kings on our *ſedilia*; and both were inſcribed with written ſentences. The mention made by Durand of the *exedra* of the church pretty well agrees with theſe appendages, which were certainly in uſe before 1268, when he wrote his Rationale. He tells us, "The *exedra* [*g*] is the *abſis*, or a certain vaulting, moderately ſeparated from the church or palace, thus called becauſe taken out of the wall." This, upon the whole, is no bad definition of the ſeats, which, if not hinted at in this place, they remain unnoticed by him, which would be rather ſtrange, ſince his vaſt accuracy and love for myſtic explication has extended itſelf to the pavement, pillars, and weather-cock; even the very ſtones are ſpiritualized. *Exedra* is alſo taken to ſignify various parts of the church, and may ſometimes intend among the Greeks the ſame part as *confeſſus*

[*g*] Exedra eſt abſida, ſive volta quædam ſeparata modicum a templo vel palatio, ſic dicta xiii. q. ii. præcipiend' quia extraheretur muro; Græcè autem exhedra vocatur. L. I. c. 1. n. 19.

To much the ſame purpoſe is the Exedra explained by Walafrid Strabo, in the 6th chapter of his work "De Rebus Eccleſiaſticis."

Robert Wyntringham, provoſt of the chantry founded by John Giffard at Cotherſtock in Northamptonſhire, by his will dated Auguſt 8, 1415, directed his body to be buried near the *lavatory* on the South ſide the chancel of St. Andrews of Cotherſtock. Bridges' Hiſtory, vol. II. p. 440. S. D.

Thomas Stanley, firſt earl of Derby, by his will dated 1504, directed that at his tomb in Burſcough priory one of the canons at every maſs before the lavatory ſhould ſay De profundis for his ſoul. Dugdale Bar. II. 247. R. G.

among

among the Latins. And, laſtly, the ſeats of the celebrants in latter times, of whatever kind they were, ſeem to have been known by no particular term. Thus they are ſimply named *ſedes*, *ſella*, *ſedilia parata*, by Tobias Lockner, in his "Practical Inſtructions on the Miſſal and Breviary." As alſo in a Sarum Miſſal of 1515, and in one for the uſe of the Roman court of 1528.

Uſually annexed to the *confeſſus*, and for the moſt part in the ſame ſtyle of adornment, and ſometimes appearing as an additional compartment, is a ſmall nich or *feneſtella*, containing the piſcina or *lavacrum*, for the uſe of the formerly adjoining altar. It is alſo of various deſign, frequently found alone in the South walls of the chancels and ailes of churches, and again in the Eaſt of thoſe parts on the right; and there is an inſtance or two of the piſcina being placed on the left [*b*]. This appendage is remarkable on two accounts; the firſt of theſe to be noticed is the perforated hollow, always formed at the bottom of the niche, which, for the ſake of ornament, is of various ſhapes, as round, ſcalloped, and ſquare, probably the moſt ancient, and, upon

[*b*] In the North wall of the church of Horton Kirby, Kent; and in Rocheſter cathedral, where the conduit for draining off the water in the piſcina is of very ſingular form; a deep declining hollow about ſix inches broad, two deep towards the front, and three or four on its inner ſide, runs quite acroſs the opening of the niche, which is about two feet. From the middle of this runs a ſecond channel, declining from a level, and at right angles to the firſt, having its exit in the wall, and forming on each ſide a large ſquare ſpace, on which were probably placed the baſins daily at the altar, ſhortly to be noticed, and the whole was lined with lead. The cuſtom of thus covering with lead the bottom of the piſcina appears not altogether to have been uncommon; for, among the devaſtations committed, anno 1562, by the Calviniſtical faction in the venerable cathedral at Rouen in Normandy, it is noticed, that they preſerved their lead and pewter for making balls for their muſquets, which they had pillaged from the *piſcina*, *organs*, and coverings of the church.

Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe cath. de Rouen, p. 108. a Rouen, 1686.

the whole, has much the appearance of a ſink, to which end it certainly was applied. They are often alſo to be ſeen with a double hollow, particularly near the ſpot where the high altar was fixed, and have ſcarcely ever failed of being conſidered as the ſtoup or baſin for holy water. The ſecond particular in the *feneſtella* worthy remark, is a projection or ſhelf running acroſs about two-thirds its height, having together much the appearance of a buffet; of this an explanation ſhall be attempted under the name of *credentia.*

In ſearching for the antiquity of the piſcina, were I to be guided by that of the uſages, which had an immediate reference towards it, I ſhould once again be obliged to have recourſe to primitive times; but ſatisfying myſelf with a more moderate claim, it will be ſufficient to give the earlieſt account I am enabled, which may poſſibly reach higher than the time when moſt of thoſe in our own churches were formed. The firſt written authority of which I ſhall avail myſelf is that of Durand, who was living in 1268 [*i*]; he tells us, that near the altar by which Chriſt is ſignified is placed the piſcina or *lavacrum* in which the hands are waſhed [*k*]. The prieſt's being ever directed to perform this duty *à cornu epiſtolæ* points out the ſituation of the piſcina on the South ſide of the altar, and of courſe on the right of the celebrant, for the ſame reaſons as have been already adduced for the preference given that part for there placing the *ſedilia.*

[*i*] According to Dupin (Eccleſ. Hiſtory, cent. xiii. v. xi. p. 75.), he was by Gregory X. ſent legate to the council of Lyons in 1274, and at laſt made biſhop of Mende in 1286. He afterwards refuſed the archbiſhopric of Ravenna, offered him by Boniface VIII. but he accepted the legation to the ſultan of Egypt; and, having gone thither, he died at Nicoſia in the iſland of Cyprus, on the 6th of July, in the year 1296. S. D.

[*k*] Prope altare etiam quod Chriſtum ſignificat collocatur piſcina ſeu lavacrum—in quo manus lavantur. Ration. Divin. L. I. C. i. n. 39.

The

The word itſelf is derived from *piſcis*, and ſignifying a ſtew for preſerving live fiſh [*l*], as alſo a bath, was afterwards extended to the lavatory or baſin deſtined for the waſhing the hands of the prieſt or other miniſters of the altar, either before the conſecration or after the communion, and in like manner for receiving the water which had ſerved for the purification of the chalice. On this account, there were in every piſcina, as may be ſeen at an infinity of altars, two conduits or channels for draining off the water, the one for receiving that in which the hands have been waſhed, the other alſo for the water in which the chalice had been rinced [*m*]; "ablutio digitorum ſacerdotis recipiatur in pelve alia quam ſacra ablutio," ſays the ancient order of the Jacobins. Theſe baſins ſeem firſt to have had the name of piſcina beſtowed on them, and afterwards to have communicated it to the niche in which they were placed. And here a ready explanation offers itſelf of the uſes of thoſe pairs of baſins which are ſo frequently found in the inventories of church plate, and are of ſo high an antiquity, and were often given as preſents, and left as legacies to particular altars and chauntries [*n*]. The rubric, in making the *lavabo*, directs the prieſt to go to the epiſtle horn

[*l*] Piſcina locu⁹ d⁼ pro nutrie'dis piſcib⁹ & co'ſerv'adis piſcib⁹ deputatus ut q'n' placuerit d'no de ipſis capiat. Vocabularium utriuſque juris. Lugduni, 1530.

[*m*] Il y avoit pour cet effet en chaque piſcine, comme on peut voir encore à une infinité d'autels, deux conduits, ou canaux, pour faire écouler l'eau, l'un pour recevoir l'eau qui avoit ſervi au lavement des mains, l'autre pour celle qui avoit ſervi au purification ou perfuſion du chalice. De Vert, III. 193.

M. De Vert, in ſaying the double channel is to be found in every piſcina, is rather beſide the mark; thoſe with a ſingle hollow are by far the more numerous, not only at home, but probably in France, of which this author was a native.

[*n*] In 870 the monks of Croyland threw into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Danes, decem Calices cum *lavatoriis pelvibus*. Ingulphus.

horn of the altar, where the clerk pours the water with which he waſhes his hands, that is the thumb and fore finger of each. Anciently, ſays De Vert, he went for this purpoſe to the piſcina hollowed out in the thickneſs of the wall, from which he is at preſent diſpenſed by the water, baſin, and towel, being ſerved as deſcribed in the rubric. It has been already ſeen, that the prieſt was ſeated in the preſbytery from the commencement of the maſs to the *ſecreta*, and here while placed, before the invention of the piſcina, he waſhed, as do the biſhops at this preſent time, by whom the ancient rite here ſpecified is, by way of diſtinction, preſerved, and which is alſo adhered to among the Chartreux [*o*]. In the ſecond ablution or purification of the chalice, the other perforation is ſaid to have come into uſe. The rubric in this caſe directs the prieſt to drink the wine and water with which

Helias, prior of St. Andrew's, Rocheſter, a great benefactor, among his other ſervices to his monaſtery, gave "Baſinos de Limoges * qui ſunt cotidie ad majus altare." Reg. Roffenſe, 123.

He held this office in the reign of king John, to whom, in the name of his convent, he preſented a ſilver cup worth ſix marks.

Two pairs of baſins were left by cardinal Beaufort to the altar of his chauntry founded in Wincheſter cathedral. Royal Wills.

In the Indenture made 1479, between the ſub-maſter and ſacriſts of Cobham college, Kent, are mentioned, ii pelves de cupro deaurat', iiii pelves veteres. Reg. Roffenſe.

This ſeems to ſignify there were two to the three altars formerly in that church, though but a ſingle piſcina marks the place where two of them were erected.

In the inventory of the furniture of the chapel of Maynard's Spittle, Canterbury, is this, "Item two maſers bound with ſilver." Somner, 143.

The vicar of Malling was, by the ordination of that vicarage, obliged to find *baſins*, among other articles. Reg. Roff. 484.

[*o*] De Vert, III. 195.

* Limoges was famous for its enamellers: hence "Baſinos de Limoges" may ſignify baſins enamelled at or by an artiſt of Limoges.

he

he was ſerved for rincing his finger and cleanſing his chalice [*p*]. In this more caution and circumſpection is obſerved than heretofore, when it was cuſtomary to throw the water which had ſerved the ablution into the piſcina, "perfuſionis aqua debet in locum mundum & honeſtum defundi," ſays Durand, "ut altitudo ſacramenti honoretur." Thus, when he wrote, it ſeems not to have been generally the cuſtom to receive the ablution into the ſtomach. The Ordinary of the Jacobins, of 1224, is ſaid to have given the firſt hint of this precaution [*q*], as for the moſt part it was ſufficient to perform this rite in a baſin, or even in the piſcina itſelf.

[*p*] Deinde vino & aqua abluit polices & indices ſuper calicem quos abſtergit purificatorio,—ablutionem ſumit. Ritus celebrandi Miſſam.

Miſſale Rom. ex decreto SS Con. Trid. Reſtitutum, 1660.

[*q*] Canons of archbiſhop Hubert Walter, A. D. MCC.

2. "A prieſt may not celebrate twice a day, unleſs the neceſſity be urgent; when he does, let nothing be poured into the chalice after the receiving the blood at the firſt celebration; but let the leaſt drop be diligently ſupped out of the chalice, and the fingers ſucked, or licked with the tongue, and waſhed, and the waſhings * kept in a clean veſſel to be had for this purpoſe; which waſhings are to be drunk after the ſecond celebration; except a deacon, or ſome other † conſiderable miniſter, be preſent to drink the waſhing at the firſt celebration."

Conſtitutions of archbiſhop Edmund, A. D. MCCXXXIV.

21. "And let him (the prieſt) have a ſilver or tin veſſel always to carry with him to the ſick, appropriated for this ſpecial purpoſe, that is, for giving the waſhings of his fingers to be drunk ‡ (by the ſick man) after the taking of the Euchariſt."

* The prieſt was not now to drink the waſhings as in other maſſes; becauſe this would have broken his faſt, and unqualified him to ſay maſs a ſecond time.

† It was preſumed that ſome particles of the ſacramental blood remained in the waſhings, and that therefore none was fit to drink them without a particular preparation, but ſome deacon or prieſt; yet the Conſtitutions of Richard biſhop of Sarum allow any innocent perſon to drink them. Sir R. S. p. 148. Johnſon's Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

‡ *Ægro* is not expreſſed in this decree of archbiſhop Edmund, but is in that of archbiſhop Poor, from which it is tranſcribed, and is neceſſarily implied here." Ibid. S. D.

The

The cuſtom of making the ablution with wine appears to have been fully eſtabliſhed at the end of the thirteenth century, following the xiiii Roman Ordo, both theſe liquors were in uſe, the wine in the chalice, and the water in the baſin; afterwards the water was in a ſmaller quantity poured over the extremities of the fingers which had touched the ſacrament [*r*], and received according to the-laſt quoted rubric. Theſe varieties, in the mode of purifying the chalice, would lead to a ſuppoſition, that the double piſcina ſhould be the moſt numerous, and have the greater claim to antiquity, as the moſt early cuſtom prior to 1254 ſeems to have been that of rincing this ſacred veſſel in a baſin, and pouring off the water uſed for that purpoſe, as deſcribed by De Vert. But, when it is conſidered the piſcina with but a ſingle hollow is not only the moſt frequent, but the moſt ancient, as muſt be evident to every one whom curioſity may lead to an examination among the numbers to be met in our old religious edifices; an inſuperable difficulty muſt ariſe on the credit of the above authorities, which can only be removed by concluding, that one perforation ſerved for the double purpoſe of conveying into the earth the water which had ſerved for the performance of both the above rites. It has been already ſeen, that a pair of baſins were part of the altar furniture at Rocheſter and Cobham, in which places remains but a ſingle piſcina; but that this was the cuſtom will be rendered ſtill more evident by what immediately follows.

In the bell-tower of the church at Bapchild, Kent, is on the Eaſtern ſide a rude Norman arch in the wall [*s*]; in the

[*r*] De Vert, III. 378, 384, &c.

[*s*] See Pl. XVII. in which fig. 2. repreſents the Norman arch, which has been repaired with brick work; and fig. 3. is a front view of the piſcina.

right

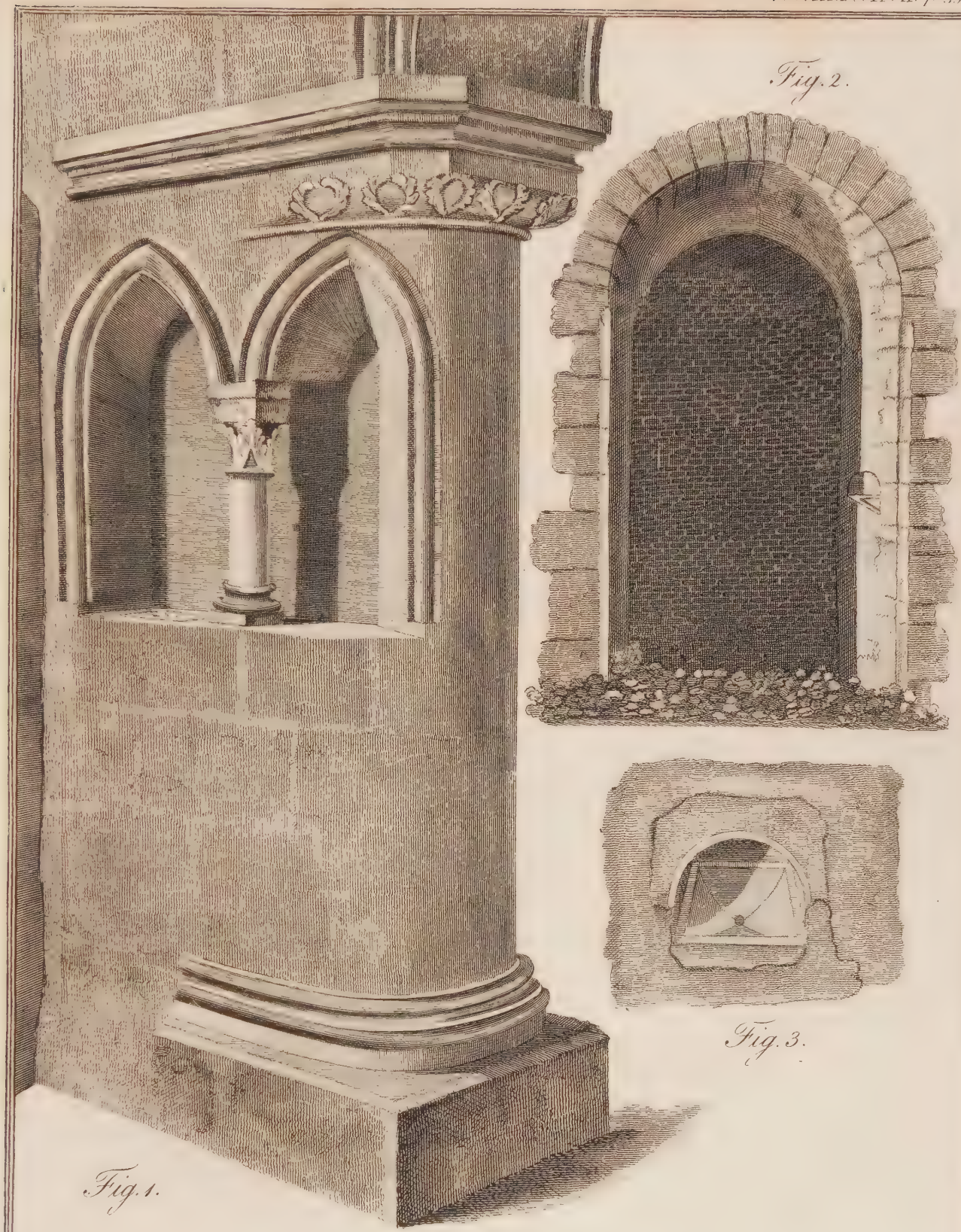


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Chas. Clarke del.

(Bapchild Church, Kent.)

right impoſt of this is a ſmall circular *feneſtella* with a curious piſcina, probably of the ſame age, and having had an exiſtence before the laſt-named date, as moſt erections in this ſtyle are ſuppoſed to have had, it muſt ſerve as a proof of a more early uſe of the ſingle channel. This being ſingular in its form, and the moſt antient I had ever met with among the number which have come under my obſervation, I thought it would not be diſagreeable if a ſketch as well of the *feneſtella* as the Norman arch in which it is fixed, were offered to your inſpection. As it is poſſible to have formed a ſmall circular niche in a ſingle ſtone at any time ſince the introduction of the pointed arch, I ſhould not have been ſo ready to have brought this forward as a proof of any point of diſcipline not mentioned by ſo learned a ritualiſt as M. De Vert; but that the whole of the pillars and arches of the body of this ſmall yet venerable building are undoubtedly of this early ſtyle of architecture, as well as part of the walls and windows, and ſerve as collateral proofs of the antiquity of the adduced particulars. As the ſpecifying ſome farther uſes of this appendage may be proper in this place, I muſt take notice, that ſhould a fly or ſpider, &c. fall into the chalice before conſecration, it is directed to be thrown, together with the wine, into this receptacle; but ſhould this happen afterwards, it is directed to be burnt *ſuper piſcinam* [*r*]. When confirmation is performed, the biſhop deterges the chriſm from his hands with the crumb of bread; this is to be thrown in *piſcinam*, viz. *ſacrarii* [*s*]. The other particular in

[*r*] Miſſale Rom. 1528.

[*s*] Pontifical Roman. *Sacrarium*, ſignifying a depoſit for any thing ſacred, be it either an apartment uſed as a veſtry, a cloſet, &c. intended for this purpoſe; is alſo in the rubrics aſſigned to this drain, or channel, as being uſed for receiving

in the *feneſtella*, mentioned as worthier obſervation, is a ſhelf-like projection or credence, formerly uſed as a repoſitory for the ſacred veſſels during the maſs, and owes its origin to a ſimilar appendage about the altar from time immemorial: for it was very early the cuſtom to have a table or ſmall altar on each ſide the large one. On one of theſe were prepared the things neceſſary for the ſacrifice, on the other they placed the habit of the biſhop [*t*]. Theſe tables continuing ſince in uſe were known by the term *credentiæ*, the earlieſt mention of which under this name which has hitherto occurred is in the Roman pontifical, from whence Sir Henry Spelman copied his notice into his Gloſſary. It is mentioned in the Roman ceremonial, as cited by Du Freſne, lib. I. ſec. 3. "*Credentiam* appellant menſam ſupra quam vaſa argentea ſive aurea ad convivium opportuna præparentur, et ſimiliter in divinis, ſupra quam ad ſacrificandum neceſſaria continentur." To the ſame end, though more to the preſent purpoſe, has Richelet defined the credence to be a buffet among the great, in which, while they are at table, their rich veſſels are marſhaled in parade, as alſo the ſmall buffet on the right hand of the altar, and rather higher, on which the *ampullæ* are placed [*u*]. From this origin of the credence, as a buffet,

water, &c. which had been applied to ſome act in religion, as alſo for the ſame reaſon to the aperture in the bottom of ancient fonts, and accounts for ſuch expreſſions as "Sacrarium piſcinæ," "Sacrarium baptiſterii," "projicere in ſacrarium," &c. ſo frequent in rubrics, and their commentators.

[*t*] Il y avoit, outre cela, deux tables, ou petits autels, aux deux cotés du grand; ſur l'un on préparoit les choſes néceſſaires au ſacrifice, & ſur l'autre on mettoit les habits de l'Eveque.

L'ancien ſacramentaire de l'Egliſe, per M. J. Grancolas. Paris, 1699.

[*u*] Crédence, petit bufet à main droite, au bout de l'autel, et un peu au deſſus, où l'on met les burettes. Menſa ad utrumque latus aræ adſtructa. Se dit auſſi

buffet, or ſide-board of plate, the nich or *feneſtella*, in which were placed the ſacred veſſels uſually of the ſame material, and termed the ſervice, had evidently the like appellation beſtowed upon it [*w*]. This accompaniment of the altar ſeems then to have been of two kinds, either a ſmall movable or fixed table near one or both its ends, or the ſmall nich, *feneſtella*, or buffet, on the right [*x*], in which the projection ſerved the ſame purpoſe. That on which the things neceſſary for the ſacred rites were placed was on the Epiſtle or South ſide, on account originally of its nearneſs to the ſacriſty, and its being on the right of the prieſt. And here in order were diſpoſed, on a clean linen cloth, the chalice, covered with the patin, veil, and *burſa*, on each ſide of which were placed the *ampullæ*, the napkin, baſins, and ſub-deacon's *veil*, though this laſt is always put on the left if there is a conveniency there for that purpoſe. It muſt, however, be obvious, that generally in thoſe *feneſtellæ* [*y*] which ſerved

du buffet qu'on dreſſe chez les grands, où l'on met toutes leurs vaiſſalles d'argent en parade quand ils ſont à table. Nouveau Dictionaare Françoiſe, par P. Richelet.

[*w*] Crédence, de l'Italien, *credenza*, ſorte de petite table, où on met tout ce qui ſert au ſacrifice et aux cérémonies de l'autel; à Lyon elle eſt de pierre, à Beauvais *c'eſt un véritable buffet de bois*. De Vert, III. 169.

[*x*] In the collegiate church at Cobham is alſo one on the left, without, as may be ſuppoſed, any projection. At Mans the credence is on the Goſpel ſide, as alſo at Lyons, together with the piſcina, on account of the ſacriſty being on the North. De Vert, III. 169.

Tobiæ Lohner Inſtructio Practica de Miſſ. ſac, 203. The modern credence is thus deſcribed by this author: "Credentia id eſt menſa brevis demiſſa ſimplice a latere Epiſtolæ poſita ſine gradibus, ſine cruce, vel imaginibus, cooperta linteo uſque ad terram undequaque pendente."

[*y*] Parva campanula, ampullæ, &c.—in feneſtella ſeu parva menſa ad hæc præparata. Miſſale Rom. ex decreto, &c. 1658.

Hence the authority of the word *feneſtella*, ſo often uſed for ſignifying the nich containing the piſcina and credence.

the double purpoſe of *piſcina* and *credentia*, the projection is by far too ſmall to contain the above articles, being ſcarcely broad enough for the foot of the chalice; but in this caſe the chalice was placed on the altar; and when it is underſtood the apparatus for the ablutions was probably fixed in the lower part of the nich, ample room will be found on the credence for the remainder. I alſo conceive it is evident, that the *feneſtella* is equally ſignified by either *credentia* or *piſcina*. Theſe fixtures occur equally frequent in foreign churches as our own; and as it may tend to throw ſome farther light on them as relicks of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, I will bring a ſingle example from the uſages of the cathedral at Rouen. The choral clerks, having in the ſacriſty taken the *ampullæ*, the large ſilver baſin [ƶ], and large napkin, come to the altar, followed by the ſub-deacon with the chalice and patin covered with the veil; in the mean time the deacon removes the miſſal from the Epiſtle to the other ſide the altar, to make room for the chalice, which is ſet in its place; for in the cathedral it is never placed on the credence or buffet, where only are put th *ampullæ*, baſin, and napkin [*a*]. In the churches of our own country are yet remaining ſpecimens of this kind of altar accompaniment, well deſerving attention. That at Cowling, Kent, affords an example of one of vaſt ſize; it has a double piſcina and credence, capable of containing every requiſite for the altar, and is alſo remarkable for its depth of architrave, ſupported by a pillar dividing the whole into

[ƶ] But a ſingle baſin is now in uſe, as it is the cuſtom, as has been already obſerved, to drink the ablution of the chalice.

[*a*] Voyages Liturgiques de France, p. 364.

two

two compartments [*b*]. I ſhall alſo take notice of one more in the church at Bapchild, Kent, probably of an antiquity not much inferior to that of the introduction of the pointed arch. It is curiouſly hollowed out of the Eaſtern pillar of the chancel, and once belonged to a chauntry or chapel on the North ſide of that building. It is divided by a ſhort pillar into two compartments; in the one is the ſquare hollow of the *piſcina*; and the flat ſpace on the ſame level in the other ſerved the purpoſe of the *credentia* [*c*]. Sometimes a wooden ſhelf is wedged acroſs the *feneſtella*. This might have been the general cuſtom, but, on account of the decay of the wood, few may have reached our time. Thoſe which have the projection of ſtone are leſs often found than quite plain [*d*]; and, it may be judged from what has been offered on theſe ſubjects, that where the nich is wholly wanting, the fixed

[*b*] See Plate XIV. fig. 4, where a geometrical plan, elevation, and ſection, of the *feneſtella* in Cowling church is given. a. a. credence, b. b. the piſcina, as deſcribed by De Vert.

[*c*] Plate XVII. fig. 1.

[*d*] In the *feneſtella* in Norwood's Chauntry the credence is of wood. See Plate XVI. At Chalk it is of ſtone, as in Plate XV.

In a beautifully illuminated manual in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Marſault, of College-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, is a drawing of a pope while celebrating a private maſs, and juſt about to elevate the hoſt or chalice; he is attended by two chaplains, the one bearing a triple croſs, the other the tiara; in the back ground is a piſcina, in which, it is to be remarked, there is placed neither credence nor veſſel of any kind, and in the view the table credence muſt be kept from ſight by the South end of the altar. This curious volume, written in a hand ſcarcely imitable by types, and decorated in a ſuperior ſtyle of ornament, appears from the junction of the white and red roſes, crowned, and ſupported by the dragon and greyhound, depicted as part of a border at the bottom of a page, to have been of the time of Henry VII; nor can it be later than 1533, when the pope's ſupremacy was laid aſide, whoſe head has in the repreſentation above alluded to, as may be judged from that account, been eraſed.

or

or movable table ſupplied its place, and that the cuſtoms in thoſe obſervances relating to it, either in its ſingle or double capacity, were regulated accordingly.

It may not here be deemed improper to offer a hint or two of another ſmall nich, ſometimes found on the North ſide of that part of the chancel or churches where once the altar was fixed, as alſo in the Eaſtern walls. This was the "ſacrarium, clauſtrum altaris, tabernaculum, armorium & almery [*e*]", in which the *ciborium* or veſſel containing the Euchariſt was preſerved for the uſe of the ſick [*f*]; a direction for the making this kind of *ſacrarium* occurs in the 7th of archbiſhop Peckham's Conſtitutions at Reading of 1279, and in the 2d of the ſame prelate's at Lambeth of 1281, which take in the words of Mr. Johnſon; "We charge, for the future, the moſt worthy ſacrament of the Euchariſt to be ſo kept, that a tabernacle be made in every church with a decent incloſure, according to the greatneſs of the cure and value of the church in which the Lord's body may be laid, &c." There are but few of theſe to be met with, as the cuſtom of this country was to have a ſuſpenſion [*g*], according to the very ancient practice. Relicks of this kind occur in the French churches; in that of St. Stephen des Tonnelliers at Rouen the old *ſacrarium* remains in much the

[*e*] In the wainſcot at the end of the altar were four grand *almeries*, to preſerve the chalices and ſilver cruets, with two or three ſuits of veſtments belonging to the ſaid altar, for principal days. Davis's Hiſtory of Durham Abbey.

Almery, from armorium, Lat. Armoire, Fr. a cloſet. There are extant decrees of councils forbidding the Euchariſtic Sacrament to be thus kept.

[*f*] Among the church plate, under the care of the ſacriſt of Cobham college, was "i. cuppa argentea et deaurat' pro ſacramento altaris cotidie imponendo; item tres calices." It has been already ſeen, there were three altars in this collegiate church. Reg. Roff. 239.

[*g*] Suſpenſio ciborii, ſub titulo Crucis.

ſame

ſame ſtate as in our own, where, ſays Moleon, they did not preſerve the Holy Sacrament for the ſick as now at the altar, but in a ſmall cloſet on the Goſpel ſide of the altar, near the image of St. Stephen, where the hinges are yet to be ſeen [*h*]. Without running into a detail of the beautiful tabernacles which were introduced into the place above deſcribed in the 16th century, it will on this head ſuffice to remark, that there are niches or cloſets about the chancels and choirs of churches, which were moſt likely a depoſit for books and other things uſed in thoſe places.

Having endeavoured to offer the beſt account in my power of the moſt remarkable particulars about the altar, permit me to ſay a few words relative to the formation of the altar itſelf. In the infancy of the church, and while Chriſtianity was oppreſſed and perſecuted, wood of all materials ſeems moſt likely to have been admitted into the conſtruction of altars, as moſt eaſily carried from houſe to houſe and city to city, in the neceſſities of thoſe times [*i*]; and that this is the caſe is evident from ſeveral paſſages of the fathers [*k*]. But, upon peace being granted to the Chriſtian world by Conſtantine the Great, altars were erected of ſtone [*l*]; and the council of Hippo, at which the famous St. Auguſtine, then in prieſt's orders, was preſent, in its 6th canon, forbids them in future to be conſecrated unleſs of this material. The Epaunenſian council in 517, canon 26, forbids alſo altars, unleſs of ſtone, to be conſecrated by the infuſion of chriſm. About 315, Pope Sylveſter is ſaid to

[*h*] In the church of Higham, Kent, is a ſmall *feneſtella* with a piſcina, and over it an almery with the iron hooks of the hinges yet remaining; a like appendage occurs in the church of St Mary Overee, Southwark.

[*i*] Grancolas, ut ſupra, II. 37.

[*k*] Ibid.

[*l*] Durandus de Ritibus, p. 267. Pariſiis, 1631.

have

have decreed, that ſtone altars ſhould be every where brought into uſe; yet he ſuffered the old one of wood to remain in the Lateran church as a memorial of ancient uſage [*m*]; and Grancolas, in his antient Sacramentary, ſays, the altar of St. John Lateran is yet of wood [*n*]. From this abſtract of the general practice of the church in this particular, you may not be ſurprized at the remark in the letter I had the pleaſure of addreſſing to you in reply to your enquiry concerning the reaſon of my diſſent from the late Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, in his account of Sebert's monument; nor could I conceive the ſingle inſtance of the wooden altar of the martyrdom in Canterbury cathedral, mentioned by Eraſmus, of ſufficient weight to ſet aſide the cuſtomary uſage. Even this might have had its ſtone *ſuper altare* inſerted, as was the cuſtom, and in effect become one of ſtone. The portable altar was ſo fitted, and was, when the ſtone was drawn from the wood, deemed to have loſt its conſecration [*o*].

Eraſmus, when he mentions that at Canterbury, makes himſelf its apology: "puſillum," ſays he, "nec ulla re viſendum niſi monumento vetuſtatis laxum hiſce temporibus exprobrante [*p*]." Poverty and perſecutions were generally admitted as pretty ſufficient reaſons for a deviation from eccleſiaſtical inſtitution, pertaining merely to matters of diſcipline; and thus the altar of the martyrdom might have exiſted from the poverty and inconvenience of early foundation, and been even ancient when Becket going to Veſpers, nearly in the moment of aſſaſſination, bade his laſt farewel

[*m*] Durandus, ubi ſupra.

[*n*] Grancolas, II. 23.

[*o*] Altare portabile conſecrationem amittit cum lapis a ligno avellitur. Theologiæ Dogm. & Morales, tom. III. Natale Alexandro authore.

[*p*] Peregrinatio religionis ergo, p. 268.

to the Virgin at its foot [*q*]; and, like that in the Lateran church at Rome, and for the ſame reaſon, might alſo have been preſerved and venerated as a monument of antiquity [*r*].

And now, Sir, becauſe cuſtom, though founded on the ſame principles, has ever, ariſing from various cauſes, been ſubject to mutability, I conceive it impoſſible to conclude my attempt at an hiſtorical inveſtigation of the ſeats erected in different ages and ſituations in the preſbytery of the church, better than in the words of the ſo often cited biſhop of Mande: "Non igitur lectoris moveatur animus ſi fortaſſis in hoc opuſculo legerit quæ in ſua non noverit eccleſia obſervari, aut non invenerit quicquid ibi ſervatur. Non enim uniuſcujuſque loci ſpecialia, ſed communes atque uſitatiores ritus hic perſequimur—nec ſit nobis poſſibile quorumlibet locorum ſpecialia perſcrutari [*s*]."

To the ſedile in Chalk church am I indebted for the pleaſure I receive in preſenting to you the foregoing remarks on ſome of the more particular of our yet exiſting remains of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. I will now farther take the oppor-

[*q*] Illic vir pius dicitur extremum vale dixiſſe Virgini cum mors immineret. Eraſmus, ubi ſupra.

[*r*] It is not by any means preſumed, from what has here been remarked, that altars of wood were totally diſuſed. There were occaſions on which they were admitted as extremely proper; but theſe were chiefly of a temporary nature. Upon the canonization of a ſaint, an altar of this kind is directed to be placed in the middle of St. Peter's church, within an incloſure, as an accommodation to the pope, who was then to perform a ſolemn celebration.

Wilkins' Councils, III. 638.

In the chamber in which was laid the body of Henry IV. of France after his aſſaſſination, were two altars erected (moſt likely of wood), at which maſſes were continually performed. Sully's Memoirs.

And it is highly probable, that the altars erected on the occaſion of an eccleſiaſtical council, when held out of a church, were all of wood.

[*s*] Rationale Divinorum, Lib. I. Procemium, N° 16.

tunity of offering a few obſervations on the fabric itſelf, in which it has been ſo long and ſo well preſerved.

There are notices of Chalk ſince the Saxon times. At this place archbiſhop Dunſtan was preſent when a partition of the eſtate of one Ælfige was made, who, upon being taken ill, had ſent for this prelate. Alſo at the time of Doomſday Survey there appears to have been a church at *Celca*, though of this it cannot be ſuppoſed any part at this time can poſſibly remain, notwithſtanding the preſent building, as acknowledged by Haſted [*t*], has the appearance of much antiquity; at the time alſo of this ſurvey the manor was found among the poſſeſſions of the biſhop of Baieux, upon whoſe diſgrace, 1082, being divided into moieties, Eaſt Chalk fell into the hands of John de Burgo, ſon of Hugo the famous juſticiary, who ſettled it, 1270, on the monks of Bermondſey. Weſt Chalk in the reign of Henry III. belonged to Nevile, and afterwards to the Cobhams, and was ſettled on the college of Cobham in this county: the other manors of Beccles and Raynehurſt, in the ſame pariſh, were alſo poſſeſſed by this illuſtrious ancient family. The church was, in 1327, appropriated to the Benedictine priory at Norwich, and exchanged, in 1379, with the maſter and brethren of Cobham college [*u*], for that of Martham in Norfolk. Whether this building

[*t*] Hiſtory of Kent, vol. I. p. 513.

[*u*] So poor was this vicarage, that, about 1479, it ſeems not to have been able to afford the expence of a new miſſal, for, among the books received by indenture into the charge of the ſacriſts at Cobham, is this item:

iiii miſſalia, de quibus unum eſt in eccleſia de Chalke.

Regiſtrum Roffenſe, p. 239.

By the original endowment, which was ſettled by biſhop Haymo de Hethe in the year 1327, the vicar was ſubject to the charge of binding books, *libros etiam ligari faciet* (Reg. Roff. p. 205); conſequently a new miſſal, when wanted, was to

building has any obligations to the above ſpiritual or temporal poſſeſſors, wholly or in part, or if erected by a ſubſcription of the pariſhioners, or by a remiſſion of temporal puniſhment, or penance enjoined by the prieſt to all perſons contrite and confeſſed on condition of charitably contributing towards its rebuilding or repairs, uſually termed an indul-

to be found by the impropriator. In 1512, July 23, the college of Cobham was adjudged, by biſhop Fiſher, to pay to the vicar a yearly penſion of xls. in money, and a quarter of barley, upon condition that the vicar ſerve the cure faithfully, and bear at his own expence all burdens ordinary and extraordinary. Act. Cur. Conſiſt. A. 1511, 1513, fol. 386.

John Wren, M. A. was inſtituted to this vicarage October 22, 1712, and died Auguſt 22, 1724. He was chaplain to the garriſon at Sheerneſs, and compiler of the very uſeful little book, "The Clergyman's Companion for viſiting the Sick." (MS. Life of the rev. John Lewis, miniſter of Mergate, written by himſelf.) He was ſucceeded by John Colſon, who, on the reverend Stephen Thornton's declining the acceptance of the maſterſhip of the Mathematical Free ſchool at Rocheſter, founded by Sir Joſeph Williamſon, to which he had been appointed by the decree in Chancery, was elected into that office. Mr. Colſon was of Chriſtchurch college, in Oxford, but acquired the degree of M. A. at Cambridge by royal mandate, April 25, 1728. May 15, 1739, he reſigned the vicarage of Chalk, with a proviſo, that he ſhould be choſen Lucaſian profeſſor of the Mathematics at Cambridge, which event took place on the 21ſt of the ſame month. He reſided in Sidney college, and occurs in 1752 rector of Lockington in Yorkſhire, a benefice in the patronage of that ſociety, and died in January, 1760, at an advanced age. Deſervedly famous as Mr. Colſon was for his ſuperior knowledge in mathematics, probably his name has been more extenſively ſpread from his having had, whilſt maſter of the ſchool at Rocheſter, Mr. Garrick for his pupil. It was in conſequence of a requeſt from the learned Mr. Walmſley, regiſter of the dioceſe of Lichfield, that this extraordinary genius was put under the tuition of Mr. Colſon. Mr. Walmſley's letter of recommendation was originally publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXXVI. p. 450; and in vol. LXI. p. 259, it is mentioned, that the only picture of Mr. Colſon was drawn at the expence of his friend Dr. Thorpe, which the late Mr. Thorpe preſented, a little before his death, to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where it is depoſited in the public library. S. D.

gence [x], are circumſtances ever to remain buried in oblivion; however, the church was ever ſmall and poor, and, unleſs antiquity

[x] As a grant of an indulgence in the Engliſh language is rather a curioſity, a copy of one given by cardinal Lawrence Campejus, biſhop of Salisbury, which was in his time printed and diſtributed as a hand-bill, is from one of the original (moſt probably unique) here introduced.

"Be it knowen unto all trew cryſten people, that Lawrence, by the grace of God, bysſhop of Salyſbury, cardynall and legate de latere to our holy father pope Cleme't the vii. of that name, to all thoſe that be confeſſyd, or wyllynge to be confeſſyd, that will vyſit, ſende, or put to theyr helpynge handes, to the mayntenance of this the pore hoſpytale of the blyſſed Trynyte and Saynte Thomas the marter, in the paryſhe of Saynt Martyne, wythin the cyte of Salyſbury, for the relefe, ayde, and ſuccoure of pore men and women dayly thyther commynge, hath grauntyd, ever to endure, to every of theſe feſtys followyng, vii yeres and vii lentys a pardon; that is to ſay, in the feſt of the bleſſyd Trynyte, vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon. Alſo on Good Frydaye vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon. Alſo the fyrſt Sonday in Lente, Paſſyon Sonday, the Aſſumpcyo' of our blyſſed Lady, the two feſtys of Saynt Thomas the Martyr, and every of theſe feſtys, a hundred dayes, and theyr penaunce releaſed. Alſo our holy father pope Boniface the ix, hath graunted at all tymes to all the benefactours of the ſayd place vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon, and the vii parte of theyr penaunce mercifully to be releaſed.

℄ Alſo pope Urbane the vii hath graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo pope Gregory the ix hath graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo pope Alexander the x hath graunted vii yeres aud vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo pope Innocent the vii hath graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo pope John the xxiii hath graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo pope Martyne the v hath graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon.

℄ Alſo all bullyes and pryuylegys of his predeceſſoures ratyfyeth and confyrmeth and graunteth to all the foreſayd benefactours to be partakers of all pylgrymages in and to the holy lande, and of the conſecracyon of the blyſſed body and blood of Cryſte. Alſo of all ſentence of excommunycacyon and curſynge not wyttynge of them to be aſſoyled. Alſo they be forgyuen of all ſynnes forgotten and penaunce broken negligently. Alſo every archebyſſop and byſſoppys of Englande (Irelande), and Walys, hath grauntyd xi days of pardon, with many other great indulgencys and pardons at all tymes in the yere, as by bulles under

antiquity may have ſufficient intereſt to recommend it to your conſideration, it is ſcarcely on any other pretenſion worthy your notice. From the high road the church, but more particularly the tower, as ſeen among the neighbouring trees, has a pleaſing effect, and, from its ſituation on a hill, is a pictureſque object to the ſurrounding country. Upon a near approach it has ſcarcely any thing about its exterior capable of attracting attention. From the pillars and arches encloſed in the wall, it is evident it once had a South aile; and the remains of a wall in a line with the Weſt end, and an arch on the South ſide the tower, now cloſed up, are a farther confirmation. The entrance is through a porch [*y*], which

lede within the ſayd place grauntyd by dyuers popes of Rome more playnely dothe appere. Alſo oure holy father pope Clement the vii, that now is, confyrmed all the aforeſayd indulgence and pardon, and graunted vii yeres and vii lentys of pardon, and Goddys bleſſynge and his."

As the above copy of this remarkable grant could not be eſteemed complete if no notice was taken of a wood cut at its commencement, a tracing is given in Plate XIV. fig. 5, it being no very common repreſentation of the Trinity, and ſeeming to have a reference to the doctrine of indulgences.

[*y*] In the corner of this porch on the right hand of the entrance to the tower, which ſeems originally to have ſerved this purpoſe, are the remains of a baſin for holy water. Belonging to churches were two kinds of veſſels for this uſe, both known among the French by the ſame term "Benîtier." Thoſe at the entrance are ſaid to have ſucceeded the fountains anciently placed near theſe parts. Writers differ as to their being ſituated, either within or without the church, as they do in their appellation, ſeveral of which are noticed by Durand, p. 205, who chuſes for himſelf "Labrum." In the old Engliſh they are ſignified by *ſtoups*, which might have ſerved as well for that fixed at the entrance as the other, having a bail, and not unlike a pail or kettle, for proceſſional uſes, and ſupplying thoſe at the doors; a beautiful ſpecimen of which is engraved in the tenth volume of the Archæologia, plate XXXVIII. p. 472. One of theſe was given in charge to the ſacriſt of Cobham college. "1 ſtoppa de a n, pro aqua benedicta," Reg. Roff. p. 259. Within this church, on the right of the North

which is an additional building,, as may be concluded from its not being bonded into the part adjoining; and was, as may be ſuppoſed from the preſent roofing, formerly embattled. It has a nich in front of a neat Gothic form, in which, as patroneſs, was placed the figure of the Virgin; it is alſo decorated with ſome rude and antick deformities, which, having been already deſcribed [z], I ſhall beg leave to paſs without farther notice. From this porch you enter through the tower into the church, which conſiſts of a great chancel, nave, and on its North ſide a ſingle aile; on the oppoſite was, as before hinted, one correſponding; the upper members of the architrave of its arches are yet viſible, reſting on monkiſh heads. About this building are plainly three diſtinct ſtyles of architecture diſcoverable; the firſt in the pillars which ſeparate the aile from the body; they are ſquare, having a three-quarter column at each angle, with capitals of a ſingle aſtragal and plain tympan; and, what is rather extraordinary, over them the idea of a cornice is preſerved. Theſe pillars I preſume to be the moſt ancient part of the whole, and to have ſerved the ſame purpoſe in the firſt church built here after the Conqueſt, and are evidenly Norman. The altar ſteps are yet to be ſeen; the chancel was fitted with deſks and ſeats now converted into two pews. In the South wall of the nave, is the ſeat and piſcina already deſcribed: oppoſite to each other are two iron hooks

North door remains a ſhaft on which a holy-water baſin was fixed. Theſe ſeem to have been wholly unnoticed by our writers, and their uſes beſtowed on the piſcina. Fig. 3, Pl. XIV. repreſents the remains of the baſin at Chalk, in the ſtyle of the figures over the porch, and let into the wall of the tower, probably a gift of the Martins. Fig. 2. repreſents the baſin at Milton, near Graveſend, introduced for marking the difference between theſe veſſels and the piſcina.

[z] Bibliotheca Topographica, N° VI. Part 1. p. 17.

with

with rings, on which was extended the veil, by which in Lent the altar was kept from ſight. The ſcreen is of pretty good joinery in the groteſque taſte, and, poſſibly, a re-erection of Mary's days, when ſcreens and rood-lofts were in uſe for the laſt time. Here, in the Eaſtern wall, are three tall lancet windows, with a neat moulding running round them. Theſe pillars point out the ſecond mode of building, or early Gothic, and were probably with the plain pointed arches ſupported by the pillars firſt mentioned, erected about the middle of the thirteenth century. They ſeem to have been the common form at that time, and generally mark the moſt antient parts in our Gothic edifices. The bay window, which ſeems an aggregate of theſe, probably not being ſo early an invention, to which the rage for painted glaſs, a decoration if not ſo durable yet far more beautiful than the ſo much boaſted moſaic, might not have a little contributed, as it ſeems farther to have given riſe to the infinite variety of compartments and extent into which our anceſtors divided their windows, as the ſcarcity or total want of glaſs was the original cauſe of their ſmallneſs and paucity. In the chapel of Newark hoſpital, Maidſtone, built between 1244 and 1260, the windows are all of the lancet kind, as they are in the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, built between 1174 and 1184, or 1220, when the body of archbiſhop Becket was enſhrined; and, probably, had the architect been acquainted with the mode of diviſions by means of ſtone tracery, we ſhould not have ſeen the ſuperb painted glaſs in the windows of that curious building ſupported by iron framing. The remaining part of the church, in which the ſubdivided arch and multiform windows are to be met with, is in the uſual mode of the 14th and 15th centuries, till the arch is ſaid to have become very obtuſe in the reigns of the Tudors.

At

At the Eaſt end of the aile was a very good window, now walled up. The corboils on either hand point out an altar to have been placed before it. Theſe projections frequently occur, and probably were for ſupporting a wooden frame, as an ornament. Here alſo, on the left hand, are the two old arches mentioned by Weever; and the whole has much the appearance of having had formerly a chauntry founded in it, or if not, a ſecond altar at leaſt was neceſſary in every church for the performance of the low maſſes on the *feriæ*, and not unlikely thoſe ſung on the leſſer feſtivals, as that in the great chancel might be reſerved for the more ſolemn occaſions; as alſo for reciting maſſes by a prieſt hired during a month, year, or more, viz. trentals, annuals, &c. for the ſouls of thoſe whoſe fortunes were too narrow for endowing a perpetual chauntry for this purpoſe; and ſhould theſe arches even have ever been deſtined as monuments to perpetuate the memory of the founders of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, by which a ſecond clergyman would be introduced into this church, the explanation of the ſeat given in the preſbytery will not be affected, as the ſtyle of building in the two point out, probably, the difference of a century in their erection. It is alſo a doubt whether there was a rood-loft in this place, as no ſteps or other means of mounting to it are to be ſeen; beſides, this ſeems to have been ſupplied by the yet remaining reading deſk, or *ambon*, whoſe foot and upright of oak timber ſhew it to have exiſted from a date prior to the Reformation. Yet it was not without its rood; a legacy of one acre of land to the light of the Holy Croſs being left by Alicia Martin, who alſo bequeathed four acres of land to her mother Conſtance Potkin, with remainder, upon her deceaſe, to her brother John and his aſſignees, to be diſpoſed

of

of for the health of her ſoul [*a*]. The windows were formerly glazed with painted glaſs, in which, it is noticed by Weever, were memorials of the benefactions of this lady and her huſband, who were here buried. Their grave-ſtone has been removed, and its braſs plate torn off, which lies in halves in the pariſh cheſt. There were alſo two other anniverſaries or obits in this church, one on the ſecond Sunday in Lent, for John Potkin; and the other for William May [*b*]. The church-wardens' accounts extend two centuries back; and one of the bells has this motto:

XPC. PIE. FLOS. MARIE.

And now, Sir, having made mention of every particular poſſibly deſerving remark, I ſhall beg leave to remain,

With great reſpect and eſteem,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Graveſend,
Nov. 1, 1792. CHARLES CLARKE.

[*a*] Stowell's Extracts printed in the Cuſtumale Roffenſe. "Item lego lum' S'cte crucis in eccleſia predict. unam acram terre, &c."

[*b*] John Potkin left iii acres of land, viii mother ſheep, and viii ſheep leaſe in Weſtmerſh, to Robert Maſon and his heirs, for keeping his obit for ever. Ibid.

William May alſo wills his wife to keep his obit with vi buſhels of wheat made into bread, and in drink x buſhels of malt, and in cheeſe xxid. to be given to the poor; and the feoffees to ſee this done for ever. Ibid.

There was a like dole of bread, cheeſe, and beer, given annually to the poor at Cliff parſonage on St. James's day, till lately diſcontinued by the preſent rector.

Explanation of part of the Plan of an antient BASILICA given in Plate XIV, fig. 1.

1. The pontifical chair, ſeat, or throne, placed on three ſteps.

2. 2.3.3. benches, or ſeats of ſtone or wood circularly ranged, on which are ſeated his miniſters. They place themſelves at the two ſides of the altar during the ſacrifice, when the biſhop officiates; the deacons and ſubdeacons remain ſtanding before him in the preſbytery, which is the place of the prelate's ſeat, and the benches for the prieſts and other attendants.

4. The altar placed in the ſanctuary under the *abſis*; the ſanctuary is the circuit, or place where the altar is fixed.

5. The place of the celebrant at the altar fronting the Eaſt, with his back to the people.

666666. Place of the deacons behind the celebrant, the archdeacon being in the midſt.

7777777. Place of the ſubdeacon, in the midſt of whom is the archſubdeacon. They remain ſtanding behind the altar towards the Weſt, fronting the celebrant, by far the greater part of the ſacrifice; during the offertory and communion they place themſelves behind the deacons.

ABC. Place of the celebrant, deacon, and ſubdeacon, during the commencement of the maſs, when a ſimple prieſt officiates inſtead of the biſhop.

DD. Place of the curtain with which the altar was ſurrounded after the ſacrifice. This is ſtill practiſed in many churches, at leaſt in Lent.

8. The choir.

9. Entrance to ditto.

ee. Benches on the right and left for the ſingers.

10. The ancient ſituation of the *ambon*, tribune, or reading deſk, which was fixed at the entrance of the choir, between the clergy and the people.

11. Deſk for reading the Goſpel.

12. Ditto for the Epiſtle.

15. Place of the men on the South.

16. Place of the women on the North.

17. Door of the ſacriſty on the right in entering the church.

26. The encloſure of the choir.

Explication ſimple, littérale, & hiſtorique, des Cérémonies de l'Egliſe, par D. Claude de Vert, tom. III. 44.

Notices of SEDILIA, in addition to thoſe mentioned in the Tenth Volume of the Archæologia.

KENT.

Maidſtone. In the chapel of Newark hoſpital, and of the ſame age, a triple ſeat and piſcina, the Eaſtern ſeat a few inches higher than the other two on the ſame level.

Bobbing. Three handſome ſeats; the Eaſtern, or ſacerdotal ſeat, a few inches higher than the other two, which are of the ſame height.

Hoo St. Warburgh. A graduated ſeat of three compartments.

Stroud. A ſeat of the ſame kind as at Hoo.

Gillingham. A triple ſeat, the Eaſtern about ſix inches higher than the other two.

Upchurch. Three ſeats of ſtone, like armed chairs, of unequal heighths. They are placed under the Eaſtern arch, which divides the great chancel from another on the South; the backs are wholly gone. There is a ſmall piſcina, and in the Eaſtern wall of the ſanctuary two large almeries, divided each by a munion.

Cowling. Three ſeats, as already mentioned.

Rainham. Three graduated, under as many divided pointed arches ſupporting tall pediments, and of a later date than the chancel in which they ſtand.

Rodmerſham. Under the Eaſtern arch, which ſeparates the great chancel from one on the South, is a triple [*f*] ſeat

[*e*] Haſted has, by miſtake, made a quadruple ſedile in this church.

of

of oak, like a threefold arm chair, the back of open Gothic tracery, with a large covered canopy over head, finiſhed with a fleur de lis, like open fret, little decayed, and altogether very handſome. This points out, that however common to form this accompaniment with ſtone, yet wood came in for a ſhare in their conſtruction, and alſo accounts for their not being found in every church; and it may be nearly eſteemed a general rule, that when the high chancel was ſeparated by open arches and a ſcreen, as is frequently to be ſeen, particularly in the better churches, the ſedile was generally placed as here and at Upchurch, and for the moſt part of this material; alſo in the South chancel of this church are two antient Gothic arches, which ſeem to have been a like appendage.

Northfleet. In the great chancel of this handſome church remains the bench of formerly a beautiful level triple ſeat, which was ſupported on pillars, and wholly projecting from the wall like that at Rocheſter. In the South chancel, in the wall, is another of the ſame number of compartments, graduated and antient.

Southfleet. A pretty graduated triple ſeat.

Milton. Ditto, and piſcina, with a canopy ſupported by Petworth marble pillars, and the ſacerdotal ſeat a few inches higher than the others.

Milton, near Sittingbourn. A double ſedile, already mentioned.

Minſter in Sheppy. In a chauntry chapel on the North ſide the great chancel a double ſedile.

Woldham. On the South ſide of the altar a plain ſtone bench.

Cobham. In the great chancel of the collegiate church, a richly decorated triple ſeat, each compartment on a level.

The piſcina remarkably large, and richly decorated, and the hollow in a ſemi-octangular pedeſtal.

Cliff. A triple ſedile, with a riſing or graduated bench of rich and beautiful workmanſhip; the compartments are ſeparated by buttreſſes, topped with finials and half columns, ſupporting compound pointed arches and canopies. The *feneſtella* here, as at Maidſtone, has the appearance of a fourth arch; the piſcina is double, and the whole forms a noble ſpecimen of truly elegant Gothic architecture.

Camberwell, Surrey. A neat ſeat of three compartments, even, and projecting like that at Rocheſter.

Turvey, Bedfordſhire. An ancient *conſeſſus* of four compartments.

Stanford le Hope, Eſſex. A graduated triple ſeat.

Great Badow, Eſſex. On the South ſide the altar a plain ſtone bench with a piſcina.

XXIV. *A brief Survey of a part of* Canterbury *Cathedral, as deſcribed by* Eadmer *and* Gervaſe: *and a Review of Mr.* Clarke's *Opinion of the original Uſe of Stone Seats in Chancels. By the Rev.* Samuel Denne, F.A.S.

Read November 28, 1793.

MR. Clarke has expreſſed his obligation to me for tranſmitting his Obſervations on the Appendages to Altars, of which large remains are frequently to be ſeen in pariſh churches; and I have aſſured him it was with pleaſure I diſcharged the office, becauſe convinced the paper did him much credit; and that, from the information and amuſement it afforded, it would be very acceptable to the Society to whom it was preſented. A hope I likewiſe entertain, that our Society will be favoured with more communications from a gentleman ſtudious in inveſtigating ſubjects of antiquity, and well qualified to illuſtrate them with his pencil and pen.

To the validity of his remarks on the *feneſtellæ*, or niches, within the South walls of chancels, I ſee no ground for objecting; on the contrary I am ſatisfied he has completely rectified the erroneous idea which had almoſt univerſally prevailed, of their having been receptacles for holy-water. But after a cloſe, and I am willing to believe, an unprejudiced, examination of his ingenious arguments, with apt authorities, I cannot think he has been equally ſucceſsful in the appropriation of the ſtone ſeats. On this point there is ſtill between us a difference in opinion, which I am in ſome degree inclined.

clined to impute to his having in his thoughts (as was alſo the caſe with the late Mr. Wells) churches in France; and to his being very converſant in the works of the eminent ritualiſts of that country. Becauſe, as I apprehend, a doubt may be made, whether from the arrival of Auguſtine, the miſſionary of the Roman pontiff, to the abolition of the pope's ſupremacy, our anceſtors ever gave a preference to the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican church. Mr. Johnſon, an indefatigable compiler of our eccleſiaſtical laws, would not allow, that they did [*a*]. And, ſuppoſing him not to have been miſtaken in his judgement, a ſtrict uniformity in the appendages to chancels, within which theſe rites were to be performed, was hardly to be expected. That our notions ſhould not exactly coincide is the leſs to be wondered at with reſpect to churches in England, ſince no deciſive evidence has been offered on either ſide. The name by which theſe ſeats were diſtinguiſhed we are yet to learn, it not having occurred to either of us in any eccleſiaſtical conſtitution or hiſtorian. Frankly therefore do I acknowledge that my opinion, when confined to churches in England, is founded upon conjecture. How far the ſurmiſe is tenable will appear from the preſent review; in the courſe of which I ſhall endeavour to obviate the force of thoſe remarks, preſſed with the moſt confidence by my learned correſpondent.

A note was ſubjoined by me to Mr. Clarke's reference to the plan of an ancient church deſcribed by the reverend Claude de Vert, wherein I ſuggeſted, that in Mr. Bingham's antiquities [*b*], there were five ichnographies of churches, that had not the three ſtalls on the South ſide of the altar,

[*a*] Johnſon's Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws. General Preface, p. xviii. And A. DCI. 2. not. *b*. and A. DCCXXXIV. 16. not. *l*.

[*b*] Of the Chriſtian Church, vol. III. p. 151. 8vo edit.

deſigned,

deſigned, according to De Vert, for the prieſt, deacon, and ſubdeacon; and the concluſion was obvious, that ſuch an arrangement of ſeats could not have been by any means the regular practice in churches in the Eaſt. But, had they been more frequent, it would not have incontrovertibly followed, that the ſame practice was adopted by the Latin church. For, conſidering the diverſity of opinions held by the two churches, both as to doctrinal tenets, and rites and ceremonies; as alſo the inveterate animoſities and conteſts between the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and the biſhops of Rome, that occaſioned a laſting ſchiſm; it was not likely that the members of the Romiſh communion ſhould have ſcrupulouſly imitated thoſe of the Greek church in the form and appendages of their ſacred edifices. In a principal article there is a manifeſt diſparity pointed out by the plans juſt mentioned; for in each ichnography we find a ſingle altar; and it is agreed, that it has ever been the conſtant cuſtom of the Greek churches to have only one altar; nor, as admitted by ſeveral writers, are there any clear veſtiges of the contrary practice in the Latin church till the ſixth century. But ſince, as Mr. Bingham remarks (to ſee what improvement has been made in later ages), there are no leſs than twenty-five altars, beſides the great altar in St. Peter's church in Rome [*c*]. And in Canterbury cathedral Mr. Battely enumerated thirty-ſeven altars [*d*].

Mr. Clarke ſeems to have taken for granted, that the mode in churches erected in Rome was introduced into this country by Auguſtine, when he converted our Saxon anceſtors. Bede relates, that, at Canterbury, Auguſtine, by the influence of king Etheldred, recovered the church built, as he was

[*c*] Antiquities of the Chriſtian church, vol. III. B. viii. ſ. 16. 8vo. edit.

[*d*] Cantuaria Sacra, pp. 26, 28.

informed, by the old believing Romans; and that he dedicated it to the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt [*e*]. To this hiſtorical anecdote, after obſerving, as I conſtrue the words, that he wiſhed to be underſtood with ſome degree of allowance, Eadmer plainly alludes in his deſcription of the church in the dilapidated ſtate in which Lanfranc found it on his promotion to the ſee; intimating, that a certain part of it reſembled the church of St. Peter in Rome, in which the moſt ſacred reliques were univerſally honoured with decent veneration [*f*].

The part here meant (termed the confeſſionary by the Romans [*g*]) was, I doubt not, the crypt under the preſbytery, which was, I rather imagine, continued under the whole choir [*h*]. But though it is much to be regretted that in this ſentence, and in ſome other paſſages of the deſcription, there are great obſcurities, the ſituation of three altars, and of the metropolitical chair, is clearly marked.

Contiguous to the wall of the Eaſt part of the preſbytery, we are told, there was the *great* altar (in *majori* altari), con-

[*e*] Bedæ Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. I. c. 33. At Auguſtinus, ubi in regia civitate ſedem epiſcopalem (ut prædiximus) accepit, recuperavit in ea, regio fultus adminiculo, eccleſiam quam Romanorum antiquorum fidelium opere factam fuiſſe didicerat, et eam in nomine ſancti ſalvatoris Dei Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſacravit.

[*f*] Erat enim ipſa eccleſia, quod per exceſſum dici patienter quæſo accipiatur, ſicut in hiſtoriis Bedæ teſtatur, Romanorum opere facta, ut ex quadam parte ad imitationem eccleſiæ beati Apoſtolorum principis Petri, in qua ſacratiſſimæ reliquiæ totius orbis veneratione celebrantur, compoſita. Decem Scriptores, col. 1291.

[*g*] Confeſſiones appellarunt veteres ſepulcra martyrum, ſeu confeſſorum, quibus ut plurimum impoſita erant ipſa altaria, unde proprie ita dictus locus ſub majori altari poſitus, quo ſanctorum reliquiæ ac corpora reconduntur.

Du Freſne ad vocem.

[*h*] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 43.

ſtructed

ſtructed with ſtones and cement, in which archbiſhop Odo had depoſited in a high cheſt the remains of archbiſhop Wilfrid, tranſlated from Ripon in Yorkſhire. And at a convenient diſtance before this altar was another altar dedicated to Chriſt, at which divine myſteries were daily celebrated. Below the preſbytery was the choir, between which and the nave was a decent partition in order to exclude the concourſe of the laity. The Weſt end of the church was decorated with an oratory of the Virgin Mary, to which there was an aſcent of ſeveral ſteps, and in the Eaſtern part of this oratory was an altar to her honour. When the prieſt officiated at this altar, as the people ſtood below in the nave, his face was towards them and to the Eaſt. But behind him to the Weſt was the archiepiſcopal chair, decently fabricated with large ſtones and cement; and it was very remote from the Lord's table, becauſe quite cloſe to the wall which was the end or finiſhing of the whole church [*i*].

Great, the epithet to the altar raiſed at the Eaſt end of the preſbytery, is omitted by Battely in his abridgment of Eadmer's detail [*k*], nor has the monk mentioned the appropriated name; probably conceiving that it was ſufficiently known to have been the altar of the Holy Trinity, to whom the church was then dedicated; and, as it is noticed that divine myſteries were daily performed at the altar of Chriſt, may it not be fairly concluded, that at the upper *great* altar maſs was celebrated on the chief feſtivals?

Somner and Battely, who both imagined Lanfranc to have rebuilt the cathedral, concur in opinion that the archbiſhop, at his ſuppoſed dedication of it, might innovate the name

[*i*] Utpote parieti eccleſiæ qui totius templi complexio erat omnino contiguam. X Script. c. 1292.

[*k*] Cantuaria Sacra, pp. 7. 8.

and title; altering it from the church of Chriſt to the church of the Holy Trinity; and that this notion is confirmed by its being called in Domeſday the church of the Holy Trinity. It appears, however, from Domeſday, that it was ſo denominated in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor [*l*]; and Gervaſe and Thorn expreſsly relate, that this cathedral recovered the name of Chriſtchurch at the very ſolemn and ſumptuous dedication of it by archbiſhop Corboyl in the preſence of king Henry the Firſt [*m*].

This ceremony was in conſequence of a repair of Lanfranc's choir, with an enlargement to the Eaſt by a chapel that was afterwards farther extended. It was a work begun by archbiſhop Anſelm, purſued by Ernulph, and completed by Conrad, in ſuch a ſtyle of elegance and beauty as to have obtained for it the appellation of Conrad's glorious choir. The new building was called the chapel of the Trinity, within which, at the Eaſt end, was placed the altar ſo denominated. After this addition, there was an aſcent of three ſteps from the choir into the preſbytery; and a ſecond aſcent to the altar dedicated in the name of Chriſt, termed by

[*l*] Somner's Antiquities, Appendix, p. 1. Per totam civitatem Cantuariæ habet rex ſacam et ſocam, excepta terra eccleſ. S. Trin. et S. Auguſtini. Quidam præpoſitus Brumannus nomine T. R. E. cepit conſuetud. de extraneis mercator. in terra S. Trin. et S. Auguſti, quod poſtea temp. W. R. ante archiepiſcopum Lanfranc, et epiſc. Baioc. recognovit ſe injuſte recepiſſe, p. 47. Nordunda eſt manerium monachorum ſanctæ Trinitatis et in T. R. E. ſe defendebat pro uno ſimiliter. Eadſham ſimiliter, p. 48. Litelcert iterum eſt manerium monachorum, et de cibo eorum, quod in T. E. R. ſe defendebat. Et ex iis habet Will. fil. Hermenfridi dimid. ſull. et reddit inde altari ſanctæ Trinitatis xxvd.

[*m*] Willelmus Archiepiſcopus, qui in gloria magna dedicavit eccleſiam Chriſti X Script. c. 1293. Dedicatio eccleſiæ ſanctæ Trinitatis ab archiepiſcopo Willielmo. Eccleſia ſanctæ Trinitatis fuit dedicata a prefato Willielmo archiepiſcopo, quæ poſtmodum eccleſia Chriſti Cantuariæ vulgariter nuncupata. Ibid. c. 1799

Gervaſe

Gervaſe the great altar [*n*]; above which, by a third aſcent of three ſteps, was the patriarchal chair, which was made of one ſtone.

Of the accommodations for the officiating clergy in the choir deſcribed by Eadmer no information is left. In Lanfranc's choir there were both ſtalls and forms, or benches; and from the directions given in the Conſtitutions of Lanfranc, when to remove and when to replace theſe benches, it may, I think, be collected, that ſome of them were ſet in the preſbytery [*o*]; not a trace, however, is there of any ſtall or chair of ſtone, except that which was for the archbiſhop. Mr. Clarke obſerves, that poſſibly there were not any ſtone ſtalls, or that, if there had been any, their diſappearance may be imputed to the ravage made by Culmer and his fanatical aſſociates. But, with ſubmiſſion, their acts of violence were leveled at the holy table, becauſe fixed altar-wiſe, and in that age moſt frequently ſtyled the altar; or their axes and hammers fell upon crucifixes, croſſes, images, and pictures, which, in their conceit, were of an idolatrous caſt. The parts of the church which were not thus ornamented were ſeldom damaged by theſe outrageous reformers; and it might be owing to this circumſtance that ſo many ſtone ſeats ſtill remain in ſuch good condition. In Canterbury cathedral, as Culmer relates [*p*]; "On the 22d of Auguſt, 1642, ſome zealous troopers hewed the altar rails all to pieces, and threw the altar over, over and over, down the three altar ſteps,

[*n*] Capella vero extra murum poſita, eidem tamen contigua, &c. X Script. c. 1266. Continebat hic murus monachorum chorum, preſbyterium, altare magnum in nomine Jeſu Chriſti dedicatum. Ibid. c. 1299.

[*o*] Wilkins' Concil. vol. I. p. 334.

[*p*] Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury, by Richard Culmer, 2d. edit. p. 18.

and left it lying with the heels upwards." But the metropolitical chair, which ſtood eight ſteps above the altar, was not diſturbed, obnoxious as was the then impriſoned primate who had been enthroned in it.

That there never were any ſtone ſeats on the ſide of the altar I think is the more probable conjecture; and, if we attend to the preſbytery, would not ſtalls placed between the pillars have been at too great a diſtance, *à cornu epiſtolæ* of the altar, to have been uſed with propriety by the celebrant and his aſſiſtants? Had ſtalls of this kind been judged neceſſary for the officiating miniſters, it is ſomewhat ſtrange that ſo few are to be ſeen in cathedral churches; and it will warrant a ſurmiſe, that thoſe which are to be found were erected to ſuit the convenience of particular perſons, by whoſe orders they were conſtructed.

In a preceding memoir it was ſuggeſted by me, that the Eaſtern ſtall in Rocheſter cathedral, marked with the armorial bearings of that ſee, was for the uſe of the biſhop [*q*]. But in the opinion of Mr. Clarke, had it been deſigned for the prelate when he was to celebrate high maſs, it ought not to have been beneath the altar, but above it, and placed in ſuch a manner, that the biſhop's face might be turned towards the people. According, however, to my idea, and to the expreſſion I uſed, it was not intended for the biſhop on that occaſion, but when it might be more deſirable for him to be ſeated nearer the altar than his throne war erected; i. e. either when he was to make an oblation, or when the elements of the Euchariſt were in the courſe of the ſervice to be adminiſtered to him. If the biſhop himſelf officiated, a movable chair muſt have been provided for him, as it was for the prieſt on other days, and ſituated conformably to the

[*q*] Archæologia, vol. X. pp. 267, 305.

uſage then obſerved. Of a fixed ſeat for the biſhop above the altar only two inſtances have occurred; one in Canterbury cathedral (formerly, as we have ſeen, placed againſt the Weſt wall of the nave); the other at Norwich, which appears to have been removed at a far diſtant period. And it is allowed, that in England, generally, for a great length of time, the epiſcopal throne has been ſtationed at the Eaſt end of the ſtalls, on the South ſide of the choir.

Such being the ſituation of ſtone ſeats in chancels, it did not appear to me unlikely, that one reaſon of conſtructing them might be to accommodate the biſhop and his attendants when a church was conſecrated; though another movable chair, in which he was to be ſeated during a part of the ceremony, might be as requiſite as when he officiated in his own cathedral. This chair could very ſeldom ſtand above the altar, there being ſufficient grounds to conclude, that in almoſt all our pariſh churches the altar muſt have been contiguous to the Eaſt wall. And I am apt to ſuſpect it might not be iſolated even in St. Paul's cathedral; becauſe, in the controverſy ſtarted by biſhop Hooper concerning the ſituation of the communion table, biſhop Ridley, as it is ſaid, endeavoured to compromiſe the matter; and therefore in that cathedral ſuffered the table to ſtand in *the place of the old altar*, *but*, *beating down the wainſcot partition behind*, laid all the choir open to the Eaſt, leaving the table *then* to ſtand in the middle of the chancel [*r*].

That there were to be two ſeats in the chancel for the biſhop, I collect from two of the ordinances of the Roman ritual quoted by Mr. Clarke. In the rule entitled "De Eccleſiæ Conſecratione et Dedicatione," there was to be an ornamented *faldiſtorium* in the nave, and another before the

[*r*] Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 264.

church-

church-door; and, though in this rule one ſeat only is mentioned near the altar, it is obſervable, that, in the ordinance "De altaris conſecratione quæ fit ſine eccleſiæ dedicatione," two ſeats for the biſhop are noticed near the altar, as I conſtrue the paſſage; one on his right hand, the other on his left, the former of which correſponds with the ſite of the ſtone ſeats, as does the *faldiſtorium in cornu epiſtolæ*, in which, or in his epiſcopal throne, he is directed by the pontifical to place himſelf after he has put on his mitre, when he was preparing to confer orders. And if in conſecrating a private altar, or in conferring orders (a ceremony to be performed at the high altar), there were to be two chairs; the inference cannot be thought ſtrained, that there would be likewiſe two ſeats for him when the high altar was to be dedicated. The above decree will likewiſe partly account for the ſtone ſeats to be met with in the ailes of churches, where formerly there were chauntry altars.

Pertinent is Mr. Clarke's obſervation, that not only altars, but the veſſels for them were ſolemnly appropriated by an office, which was often performed by a ſuffragan biſhop; and I rather believe that churches might be more frequently dedicated, under a ſpecial commiſſion, by a prelate of a different diſtrict. And though, in this caſe, the deputed biſhop had not probably ſo many in his ſuite as the dioceſan himſelf, it ſhould ſeem that the vicar-general, or his official, muſt be always preſent, with not leſs than one chaplain. But theſe attendants, being eccleſiaſtics, would be accommodated in the chancel.

When Mr. Clarke firſt drew the attention of the public to theſe ſeats, he offered it as his opinion, in which Mr. Wells concurred, that they were deſigned for the prieſt, deacon, and ſubdeacon, at the celebration of maſs; a ſurmiſe which appeared

appeared to me to be ſomewhat dubious, the number of ſeats in different churches not coinciding with it. To obviate this doubt it is ſuggeſted by Mr. Wells, that where there are more than three ſeats, the ſupernumeraries were for attendants of inferior rank. And Mr. Robertſon is as firmly perſuaded, that, if there are fewer ſeats, it was in conſequence of the ſlender endowment of the churches, which might not be competent for the ſupport of more than one or two miniſters. But I much queſtion whether, on a cloſe enquiry, the proportion of the number of ſeats to the profits of the benefice will apply to thoſe churches in which the ſeats have been diſcovered. On the contrary, as far as my reſearch has extended, it is evident that there are ſingle ſeats in churches endowed with a much larger revenue than what appertained to other churches, where there are three and more ſeats [*q*]. It ſhall be admitted that the common rule

[*q*]

Stalls,		A. D.	Value. 1291, Marks	£.	s.	d.	1534. £.	s.	d.
	NORTHAMPTONSH.								
Vic. 1	Helmdon, -		16	16	1	6			
Rect. 1	Stoke Bruere, -		20	31	10	7			
—— 1	Benefield, -		20	36	—	—			
—— 1	Barnak, - -		34	29	10	7			
—— 2	Tiffield, -		9	10	—	—			
—— 3	Courtenhall, -		9	13	8	1			
Vic. 3	Eaſt Haddon, -		15	13	6	8			
—— 4	Rothwell, -		17	8	9	6			
Rect. 5	Newton Bromſwold,		6½	8	6	8			
	KENT.								
Rect. 1	Lenham, -		—	13	15	2½			
—— 1	Rokeſly, (A. 1530,)		8	—	—	—			
Vic. 3	Rodmerſham, -		—	8	6	8			
—— 3	Bexley - -		10	13	4	7			
—— 3	Hoo St. Werburgh		10	10	8	—			
Rect. 3	Cliffe, -		110	50	—	—			
—— 3	Northfleet, -		110	—	—	—			
Vic.	The ſame, -		—	21	—	—			
	ESSEX.								
Rect. 3	Stanford le Hope,		—	12	19	9½			

Stalls,		A. D.	Value. 1291, Marks	£.	s.	d.	1534. £.	s.	d.
	LEICESTERSHIRE *.								
Rect. 1	Sadington, -		—	9	2	3½			
—— 6	Halloughton †, -		—	36	—	—			
Vic. 2	Croxton Kyriel, -		—	7	14	6			
—— 6	Oadby, - -		—	8	—	—			
—— 3	Little Dalby, -		—	9	—	—			
—— 3	Buckminſter, - -		—	8	7	3			
	LINCOLNSHIRE.								
—— 3	Sleaford, -		—	8	—	—			
—— 3	Benington, -		—	20	1	10			
	BEDFORDSHIRE.								
Vic. 3	Biggleſwade, -		—	10	—	—			
Rect. 4	Turvey, - -		—	16	—	—			
	HEREFORDSHIRE.								
Vic. 2	Dormington, -		—	4	6	8			
Rect. 2	Weſton ſubtus Penyard,		—	18	—	—			
Vic. 3	Goodeſton, -		—	6	11	11½			
—— 3	Brodenham, -		—	7	1	9			
Rect. 3	Feltwell, St. Mary,		—	14	17	3½			

* All that are here noticed in Leiceſterſhire are engraving for Mr. Nichols's Hiſtory of that county.

† At Halloughton and at Oadby there are two ſets of ſtalls; three in the chancel, and three in the South aile.

expected to be followed was to have clergymen of the three different claſſes abovementioned at the celebration of high maſs; and it was under this ſuppoſition ordained by archbiſhop Winchelſea, that the pariſhioners ſhould provide the veſtments for each of theſe miniſters reſpectively, viz. three ſurplices, a principal veſtment with a chaſuble (for the prieſt), a dalmatic (for the deacon), and a tunic (for the ſubdeacon). [*r*].

But all theſe veſtments were not really wanted for very many churches, the revenues of them not being adequate to the maintenance of ſo large a clerical eſtabliſhment. It was therefore enjoined by the ſynodical acts of the dioceſe of Norwich (1257), that in thoſe churches, the income of which was too ſmall to defray the charge of a deacon and ſubdeacon, there ſhould be one decent clerk at leaſt, who, in a ſuitable habit, was to adminiſter to the prieſt in divine offices [*s*]. Such was alſo the direction of a ſynodical meeting in Ely (1364) [*t*]; and was probably the rule in moſt dioceſes. In many ordinations of vicarages, a vicar and a clerk are the perſons ſpecified; and generally, ſmall as was the endowment, the vicar was neceſſitated to find the clerk. Lenham in Kent was appropriated to the abbey of St. Auguſtine in Canterbury, and the vicar and a capellan were to ſupply the pariſh church and the chapel of Rayton [*u*]. I men-

[*r*] Wilkins' Concil. II. p. 280; and Lyndwood, Provinciale, p. 252.

[*s*]. Wilkins' Concil. I. p. 733. In ſingulis quoque eccleſiis, quarum facultates ad hoc ſufficiunt, ſint unus diaconus, et ſubdiaconus in eiſdem, ut decet miniſtrantes. In aliis vero eccleſiis ſit ſaltem clericus unus honeſtus, qui ſacerdoti cum habitu convenienti in divinis miniſtret officiis.

[*t*] Ibid. vol. III. p. 61.

[*u*] X. Script. c. 2098, 9, Ordinatio vicariæ de Lenham. Dictus autem vicarius et ſui ſucceſſores deſerviet, ſeu deſervient honeſte dictæ eccleſiæ de Lenham et capellæ

mention Lenham, becauſe though there were to be here two prieſts, who were to officiate at the high altar of the mother church on the great feſtivals, and on other ſolemn days, there is in the South wall of the chancel only a ſingle ſtone ſeat.

A benefice of fifty marks and upwards, according to the common taxation, was ſubject to the charge of a deacon and ſubdeacon by a ſynodical decree of H. de Woodlocke, biſhop of Wincheſter (1308) [*w*]. They were to aſſiſt always in adminiſtering religious rites, and for them were to be provided a dalmatic and a tunic, with not leſs than one ſolemn veſtment for the prieſt. But it is obſervable, that in a liſt of between ſeventy and fourſcore churches already noticed as having ſtone ſeats in chancels, there are only two, the revenues of which amounted to ſo large a ſum: Cliffe and Northfleet, both in the dioceſe of Rocheſter, but under the peculiar juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, are the pariſhes meant: and Northfleet, after the endowment of a vicarage, muſt have been conſiderably below fifty marks, it being now rated for firſt fruits at £.21. As the value of the benefice cannot, therefore, be evidence deciſive to account for the conſtruction of theſe ſtalls, I ſtill conſider myſelf warranted in adhering to my own ſurmiſe, that they were not originally made for the officiants at the altar, but for the

capellæ de Rayton per ſe *et* alterum idoneum capellanum et luminaria invenient in eiſdem more debito et conſueto. Mr. Haſted (Hiſtory of Kent, vol. II. p. 453.) has miſconſtrued the paſſage, in ſuggeſting, that the vicar and his ſucceſſors ſhould perform the duty of the church by themſelves *or* other proper curate.

[*w*] Wilkins, Concil. II. p. 295. Volumus inſuper, quod in ſingulis eccleſiis, quæ ad quinquaginta marcarum (ſummam), vel ultra communiter ſunt taxatæ, ſint unus diaconus, et unus ſubdiaconus, continuè miniſtrantes, et unum ad minus veſtimentum ſolenne, ac tunica et dalmatica competens.

convenience of others, who would frequently reſort to the churches. I inſtanced the biſhop and his ſuite at the time of dedication; the archdeacon, when he viſited the pariſh; and the rural dean, when he held a chapter, or court, of the clergy of the diſtrict. And I will add farther, that theſe ſtalls might alſo ſerve for the accommodation of perſons who bore conſtant relation to the church; and who, from having a ſtrict propriety in the chancel, had an unqueſtionable right to be there ſeated during the performance of divine worſhip.

By the council of Laodice [*x*] in the fourth, and by that of Nantes in the ninth century [*y*], and by a Saxon conſtitution eſtabliſhed in the tenth; no woman was allowed to approach the altar, or to ſtand within the chancel. Johnſon, who ſtyles the Saxon canons *Theodulf's capitula*, thus renders from that language the article referred to. "We charge that at the time when the prieſt ſings maſs, no woman be nigh the altar, but that they ſtand in their own place, and that the maſs prieſt there receive of them what they are willing to offer [*z*]." The excluſion of women from the chancel continued in this country to the Reformation; for though, as Lord Bacon relates, Sir Thomas More, when at maſs, ſate in the *chancel*, his lady was in a *pew*, meaning (obſerves Mr. Warton) that ſhe ſat in one of the common *pariſh ſeats*, without and in the nave [*a*].

[*x*] Noticed by Mr. Clarke in Gent Mag. vol. LVII. p. 662.

[*y*] Dupin (Eccleſ. Hiſt. VII. p. 138,) writes, that the canons which bear the name of the council of Nantes are only a collection of ſeveral conſtitutions made at different places. The third canon is, "Ut nulla fœmina ad altare præſumat accedere, aut preſbytero miniſtrare, aut infra cancellos ſtare:" Dufreſne; thus tranſlated in the Engliſh edition of Dupin: "The third forbids a prieſt to have any woman with him, yea thoſe that are accepted by the canons. It forbids alſo women to approach the altar, officiate as prieſts, or ſit within the rails."

[*z*] Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, A. 994. VI.

[*a*] Specimen of a Parochial Hiſtory, page 5, note *g*.

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The ſynodical decree of ſeveral dioceſes forbad the laity to ſtand or ſit with the clergy during the celebration of divine offices; a prohibition that was, however, ſubject to ſome exceptions. For choir ſingers were admitted; and it was generally at the expence of the rector, or impropriators, that benches were to be provided for them, with deſks for the muſic books [*b*]. In the church of Cobham in Kent they had large chairs, which chairs and deſks were ſtrengthened with iron plates [*c*].

Patrons alſo, and other honourable perſons, from a regard to decency, were allowed to enter the chancels; and, as Mr. Clarke has obſerved, from Ceremoniale Epiſſe. Roman. lay perſons were to be placed on the North ſide. No direction to this effect have I met with in any conſtitution of the Engliſh church; and if the rule were ſtrictly followed, it may be inferred from the few ſtone ſeats that are conſtructed in, or contiguous to the North wall, that moſt patrons were ſatisfied with a movable chair or bench. Nor, I muſt own, can I ſee more unſuitableneſs in their ſitting on the South ſide, with the clergy of different orders, than there was in

[*b*] Wilkins' Concil. I. 625. Conſtitut. W. de Bleys Wigorn. Epi. A. 1299 ut laici non ſedeant in choro inter clerios,—p. 666. Conſtitut. W. de Cantelupe, Wigorn. Epi. A. 1239, "Nec laici ſtent in cancellis dum celebrantur divina, ſalva tamen reverentia patronorum et ſublimium perſonarum." p. 707. Conſtitut. Willielmi de Kirkham, Epi Dunelm. A. 1255. "Provideant autem rectores, vicarii, et ſacerdotes, ne paſſim laici ſedeant et ſtent in cancello dum divina officia celebrantur, niſi forſan patroni, aut alia venerabilis perſona ad hoc ob reverentiam admittatur." Concil. Scotianum, A. 1225. The king and the nobles are excepted. "Excepto domino rege et majoribus regni quibus propter ſuam excellentiam in hac parte duximus deferendum." Ib. vol. I. p. 618.

[*c*] Regiſtrum Roffenſe, p. 239. "V cathedræ ferr' pro choro, cum lectrino ferr' ejuſdem ſectæ." By the canon of the Council of Laodicea, it was ordered that none but the canon chanters who ſit in high chairs, and read in books, ſhould ſing in the choir.

the

the appropriations of the tythes, which made knights, lay-brothers, and women, if nuns, to be rectors of parishes, on a conceit that they were all members of religious societies [*d*]. But certainly rectors and impropriators, whether regular or secular, would be placed in the stone-seats, though designed for only ecclesiastical persons.

The retaining of all the profits of livings to the private use of patrons, or others, making only a small allowance to a vicar or curate, was not uncommon abroad, but is thought to have been much more prevalent in this country. It was an engine of humiliation and oppression first exercised on the parochial clergy by the Normans with the concurrence of the Roman pontiff; and became so much the custom in England, that within three hundred years after the Conquest, above a third part, and those generally the best benefices, were subject to this abuse [*e*]. Afterwards, as some have reckoned, they amounted to near half; and, according to the computation of bishop Kennet, the appropriated churches exceed those which are free from the burden [*f*]. For the more advantageous management of the glebe land and tythes, the possessors of them would frequently inhabit the parsonage houses; and many of them would be drawn thither from motives of convenience, or for their amusement.

This practice in the regular canons and monks is noticed in a constitution of Othobon, who censures the residence of

[*d*] Bishop Kennet's Case of Impropriations, p. 34.

[*e*] Ibid. pp. 21. 25.

[*f*] Ibid. p. 405, note. At the beginning of the Civil Wars, Dr. Featley made this reckoning of 9000 livings with cure in this kingdom; there are above 4000 so castrated by sacrilegious appropriations, that in very many places of this kingdom, that which remaineth for the incumbent is no way sufficient to support him and his family. *Sacra Nemesis*, 4to. p. 63. It is certain the disproportion is much greater; above 6000 impropriations to 3000 presentative rectories.

a monk

a monk by himſelf in a manor or a church as indecent and perilous. Abbats and priors were therefore directed to take care that at leaſt two monks ſhould in theſe caſes be aſſociated; and that, when the revenues of a church would not maintain two, the church ſhould be committed to ſeculars [*g*]. The ſupply of a church was, however, another plea of abſence from their cloiſters, of which the monks were not long ſuffered to avail themſelves; for ſo remiſs had they been in the diſcharge of parochial duties, that the biſhops inſiſted there ſhould be vicars endowed. But, as already ſuggeſted, an inadequate allowance was generally made for their ſupport; nor can I for this reaſon admit, that impropriators would be willing to incur any extraordinary charge in conſtructing ſeats of elegance for the vicar and his clerk, though they might be prompted to do it for their own eaſe and dignity, when they reſorted to their pariſh church. Several of the monks being well ſkilled in architecture [*b*], renders it very probable, that not a few of the churches of the numerous pariſhes of which they poſſeſſed the manor, or the tythes appropriate were built on plans they gave, and perhaps often executed under their inſpection. A mark of ſuch ſuperintendance may, I think, be traced in Chalk-

[*g*] The only ſtalls of wood yet diſcovered in a chancel in England are in Rodmerſham church. But, in Millin's Antiquités Nationales, there is a beautifully carved plate of a triple ſeat, of the ſame material in the church of St. Spire at Corbeil, on the Epiſtle ſide of the altar, now, or rather lately uſed by the officiating prieſts. It is of the 16th century, and ſuppoſed to have been a preſent from Francis I. whoſe device, a ſalamander, appears in the pediment of the Gothic arch over them. As the royal device is placed over the centre ſeat, which is raiſed above the collateral ſeats, might it not be originally conſtructed to accommodate that monarch?

[*b*] It ſeems pretty remarkable, that within the compaſs of 100 years there ſhould have been ſix priors of Chriſtchurch, Canterbury, who made architecture their ſtudy, and of whoſe taſte and ſkill we ſee many proofs at this time. Mr. Goſtling's Canterbury Walk. p 252.

church, as deſcribed by Mr. Clarke; he mentioning that the upper member of the architrave of its arches, yet viſible, are reſting upon monks' heads; and that, in the chancel, below the piſcina and ſtone ſeat, there is the head of a monk, which ſupports the extremity of the rib of the arch.

Concerning the form of theſe ſtone ſeats it cannot be here impertinent to obſerve, that the arches of thoſe hitherto examined are angular, which limits the introduction of them to a later period than the age of ſeveral of the ſmaller niches, or piſcinas, that are of the Saxon, or early Norman ſtyle [*i*]. From which criterion it cannot be thought a forced concluſion, that ſuch fixed ſeats, ſuppoſed to be conſtructed for the convenience of the officiants at maſs, were not common in this country till many years after the Conqueſt. And from Durand's not expreſsly mentioning any ſuch *ſedilia*, I am diſpoſed to imagine, that at the time he wrote, they were not in France appendages to the altar; they not, as I conceive, clearly anſwering to the *exedra*; and Mr. Clarke admits, that unleſs the very accurate ritualiſt alluded to them under the term *exedra*, they remain unnoticed by him. He has, however, named the *piſcina*; and in almoſt every antient chancel in England is a piſcina to be found within a receſs that has an arch ſemicircular or pointed.

[*i*] In the South wall of the chancel of St. Mary's at the caſtle, Leiceſter, are three pointed ſtalls of different heights, with zigzag arches of nail-head quatrefoils; the pillars have flowered capitals, and are double with an interval between each pair. In the South wall of the North aile are three ſtalls with four zigzag arches and round columns, ſeparated as the foregoing, with flowered capitals. From this ſtyle of building one is naturally led to conclude, that theſe ſtalls were not later than the reign of Henry III. and that John of Gaunt only rebuilt the nave and tower, and perhaps the South aile. It was collegiate before the Conqueſt, and rebuilt, 1107, by Robert earl of Leiceſter, of whoſe time this Saxon work probably is. It is the only inſtance I have ſeen of ſuch a ſtyle of architecture in theſe ſtalls. R. G.

Rectors,

Rectors, or impropriators, were to repair, and, when neceſſary, to rebuild their chancels; it rarely happening that this burden was thrown upon vicars. May we not therefore, in ſome degree, account for the extraordinary elegance in the ſculpture of many of theſe ſtalls, from their being deſigned for the accommodation of the impropriators themſelves? For inſtance, in Lenham chancel there is one fine ſeat with an arched canopy, not for the officiants at the altar, who were two, as already mentioned; but, as I imagine, for the abbat of St. Auguſtine, or for a chief member of that monaſtery during his reſidence at Lenham; as the ſtalls at the Weſt end of the chancel might be for the inferior monks, and the choir of ſingers. Rodmerſham church being likewiſe appropriated to the preceptory of the knights hoſpitallers at Weſt Peckham, I can readily accede to Mr. Haſted's ſurmiſe, that the knights, when preſent, were placed in the triple ſeat of wood ſo richly ornamented with Gothic tracery; certain it is, that the endowment of the vicarage was incompetent to maintain a prieſt and two ſubordinate clergymen.

To the ſame circumſtance I am for partly attributing both the difference in the number of the ſeats, and the graduated poſition of ſo many of them. Of the three ſtalls in Chatham church, I allotted the uppermoſt, and moſt highly embelliſhed, to the prior of Leeds, rather than to an inferior canon, who might be appointed temporary warden, or, what was frequently the caſe, to a ſtipendiary prieſt, removable at pleaſure. And Tiltey church in Eſſex being conventual as well as parochial, I, on the ſame principle, ſuppoſed that the abbat, not the celebrant, was ſeated in the Eaſtern ſtall at the celebration of maſs, or the performance of any other branch of religious worſhip. This will, I conceive, apply

with equal weight to the many churches regularly frequented by the provoſts of colleges and maſters of hoſpitals; as were the churches of Strood near Rocheſter, of Milton by Graveſend, and of Cotherſtock in Northamptonſhire [*i*].

Had the central been uniformly the more elevated, or the more ornamented ſtall, I ſhould not have had a doubt of Mr. Clarke's having juſtly appropriated the triple ſeats, the authority cited by him being a Roman miſſal, that directs the prieſt to be always ſeated between the deacon and ſubdeacon. The miſſal to which he refers is, it is true, of the year 1638; but I am not yet appriſed of there being any miſſal or ritual, having the ſanction of the Roman pontiff, which enjoins or countenances the prieſt's being placed above or below a clergyman of an inferior claſs. If the print in Picart's Ceremonies, which ſeems to have eſcaped the attention of Mr. Clarke, or was not ſeen in as ſtrong a light as it appeared to me, is a true repreſentation of the Pope's chapel, the celebrant prieſt is there ſeated as the rubric directs [*k*]; and I think we may reaſonably infer, that it was the deſign of the council of Trent, whoſe decrees were dictated by the Papal legates, to correct all deviations from the orders and uſages of the biſhops of Rome, who ever ſtrenuouſly contended, that the model both of doctrine and worſhip was to be given by what they arrogantly ſtyled the infallible mother

[*i*] Bridges, vol. II. pp. 438, 840. On the South ſide of the altar, under old Gothic arches, are four ſeats one above the other. William Wyntringham, provoſt of this collegiate chantry, by his will, dated Auguſt 8, 1415, directed his body to be buried near the lavatory, on the South ſide the chancel of St. Andrew's church at Cotherſtock. And on the South ſide the chancel near the altar ſteps, is an oblong grey ſtone, on which is, in braſs, the portrait of the provoſt, in his habit, under an arch or ſtall, with a pyramid above, and ſpikes on each ſide, ſtanding on a pedeſtal with ſteps.

[*k*] Archæologia, vol. X. p. 300.

church,

church, and to be cloſely followed by all its adherents. The attempt in the branch of the ritual under review did not, it is manifeſt, ſucceed in France. The queries propoſed by Father Le Brun betray a glaring proof of a want of uniformity; and it would be no difficult taſk to ſhew, that the Gallican church, both in a public and private manner, rejected ſundry articles which relate to eccleſiaſtical ceremonials and diſcipline.

If there had been only one ſtall fixed in chancels at a ſuitable diſtance from the Epiſtle, or South horn of the altar, I might likewiſe have readily acquieſced in the notion of its being intended for the prieſt; and the greater ſtatelineſs there was in its form, the ſtronger bias I ſhould have had to the opinion; becauſe there is undeniable evidence—that to the abbey of Weſtminſter Edward the Confeſſor preſented the coronation chair of the kings of Scotland, for the uſe of the celebrating prieſt before the ſhrine of the Royal Confeſſor [*l*].—that, as Mr. Clarke mentions, there is at the Chartreux of Dijon a large antient chair, magnificently carved, for ſeating the prieſt during the epiſtle; and (which I muſt beg leave to repeat as what ſeems to me to be nearly deciſive of the point in queſtion)—that, in the pope's chapel at Rome, there is a

[*l*] Such was king Edward's avowed purpoſe in giving this chair *, and not, as Mr. Clarke is inclined to imagine, for the uſe of the abbat, unleſs he was the celebrant at maſs. But, in the abbey church of Peterborough, there was on the South ſide of the altar a chair for the ſole uſe of the abbat. "The table (of the antient high altar) was a ſpacious free-ſtone, many years ago removed from its place, and now lying in the adjoining ſteps. It is twelve feet two inches long, and in breadth four feet eight inches. In the place of it was ſet a table of wood, *at the South end of which ſtood the abbat's chair of ſtone*, ſaid to be the model of St. Peter's chair, which continued ſome years after." Bridges, Hiſt. vol. II: p. 567.

* Liber contrarotulat. p. 60. Walſingham Ypodig. Neuſtria, p. 485.

moſt ſuperb chair for the prieſt, with no other than two low ſtools placed at his feet for his aſſiſtants. Nor can it be a ſubject of ſurprize, that ſo pompous a ſeat ſhould be provided for a prieſt of the church of Rome, if we reflect what an exalted character he is ſuppoſed by that church to ſuſtain, whilſt an officiant at maſs [*m*].

[*m*] Alanus de Rupe, a Dominican monk, ſcruples not to raiſe the power of the prieſt above that of God himſelf; alledging, that God ſpent a whole week in creating the world, and diſpoſing it into proper order; whereas a prieſt, every time he ſays maſs, with a word or two produces not a mere creature, but the ſupreme uncreated Being himſelf, the origin of all things: a citation of Keyſler in his Travels (vol. I. p. 414), after relating that, about the beginning of this century, a prieſt was hanged at Milan for celebrating maſs before he had received his bull of ordination, though it was upon the road from Rome; the thumbs with the fore and middle finger of both the hands, between which at the elevation he had held the hoſt, being firſt burnt. In 1463, Simon Harriſon, in the habit of a Dominican frier, was apprehended by the domeſtics of archbiſhop Bourchier, on a ſuſpicion of having celebrated maſs in Lambeth church, without being in prieſt's orders. When examined by the convocation aſſembled at St. Paul's (July 16), he confeſſed that he had committed idolatry, having for a long time performed maſs, though he was only an acolyth (Wilkins' Concil. vol. III. p. 585). He was delivered for puniſhment to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the ſentence paſſed on him is probably entered in the biſhop's regiſter, or in the conſiſtorial acts of that dioceſe.

XXV.

XXV. *Some Remarks on the* European *Names of Chefsmen, in a Letter from* Francis Douce, *Eſq. to the Rev. Mr.* Brand, *Secretary.*

Read June 20, 1793.

Dear Sir,

I Have to requeſt you will preſent to the Society of Antiquaries the following obſervations relating to *Cheſs*, which may be conſidered as ſupplementary to thoſe already communicated by our worthy member, the honourable Daines Barrington [*a*].

It is not my deſign to enter upon a diſcuſſion concerning the origin of this famous game. It has been already very ably done by others, eſpecially by our countryman Dr. Hyde; yet I ſhall avail myſelf of this opportunity of mentioning the lateſt, and perhaps the moſt ſatisfactory opinion upon this ſubject, for which we are indebted to the labours of that accompliſhed ſcholar Sir William Jones. He has informed us, that cheſs was invented by the Hindoos, from the teſtimony of the Perſians, who unanimouſly agree, that it was imported from the Weſt of India in the ſixth century, and immemorially known in Hindoſtan by the name of *Chaturanga*, or the four members of an army, *viz.* elephants, horſes, chariots, and foot-ſoldiers.

[*a*] Archæologia, vol. IX. p. 16.

By a natural corruption of the pure Shanſcrit word, it was changed by the old Perſians into *Chatrang*; but the Arabs, who ſoon after took poſſeſſion of their country, had neither the initial or final letter of that word in their alphabet, and conſequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way preſently into modern Perſian, and at length into the dialects of India, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned; and thus has a very ſignificant word in the ſacred language of the Bramins been transformed by ſucceſſive changes into *Axedrez*, *Scacchi*, *Echecs*, *Cheſs*. The learned writer is convinced that the ſimple game, as now played in Europe and Aſia, was invented by a ſingle effort of ſome great genius, and not completed by gradual improvements. He then informs us, that no account of the game has hitherto been diſcovered in the claſſical writings of the Bramins, though it is confidently aſſerted, that Shanſcrit books on Cheſs exiſt, and proceeds to deſcribe a very ancient Indian game of the ſame kind, but more complex, and, in his opinion, more modern, than the ſimple cheſs of the Perſians [*b*].

The more immediate object of the preſent communication is to bring under one point of view, the various opinions concerning the *European names* of the cheſs-men, to reconcile ſome of theſe, and to correct others

I have not hitherto been able to diſcover any difference in the appellation of the principal piece; by all the writers who have mentioned the game, it is uniformly ſtyled the King.

[*b*] Aſiatic Reſearches, or Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted in Bengal for enquiring into the Hiſtory and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Aſia. Calcutta, 1788, 1790, 4to. vol. II. p. 159.

With

With reſpect to the piece next in rank, and now I believe univerſally called the QUEEN, (except, perhaps, in Poland and Ruſſia, where, according to Dr. Hyde, it is likewiſe called the *Old Woman*, or *Nurſe*) [c] it is certain that the French, and after them the Engliſh, during the middle ages, adopted a very different name, viz. *Fierce*, *Fierges*, *Feers*.

Fols chevaliers *fierges* ne ros. Roman de la Roſe, MS.
Li Badrains trait ſa *fierce* por ſon paon garder. Rom. de Caſſamus MS.
She ſtale on me and toke my *feers*,
And whan I ſawe my *feers* away,
Alas, I couthe no lenger play!

CHAUCER, Dream of Love.

It is agreed that the term is borrowed from the Eaſtern word *Pherz*, which means a counſellor or general of an army; for it is well known, that the game, however ſince corrupted, was originally a military one, and it is proper to make this remark now, as it will apply in diſcuſſing the changes of other pieces. The military ſpirit of the Aſiatic game is ſtill preſerved in the method of laying, but the warlike characters of the actors have been almoſt entirely converted into thoſe compoſing the principal claſſes of a well-regulated ſociety, ſuch as kings, queens, knights, biſhops, fools, and peaſants.

Unleſs the ſimilarity in ſound between the words *Pherz*, and *Vierge*, occaſioned the introduction of the latter term among the Europeans, it is difficult to account for it; and it is farther probable, that the mere ſound of the word might have given riſe to the whole change in the game; for the extravagant veneration of the times towards the Holy Virgin, would naturally lead to the introduction of a queen, and the

[c] Hyde de ludis Orientalibus. Oxon. 1694, 12mo. p. 77.

reſt followed of courſe. In an ancient Latin poem, hereafter more particularlymentioned, the queen is called *Virgo*.

Monſieur Freret, after remarking that the move of this piece among the Eaſterns is only from ſquare to ſquare, obſerves, that the romantic ſpirit of the times diſdained this very contracted motion, as too much reſembling the ſlavery of the Aſiatic females, and contrary to the privileges enjoyed by thoſe of Europe, on which account they rendered it as free as poſſible, by making it the moſt important of all the pieces [*d*]. Although the title of *queen* cannot be traced ſo far back as that of *fierce*, it is of conſiderable antiquity, as it is to be met with in French manuſcripts of the thirteenth century; and in the Geſta Romanorum, a collection of ſtories compiled about the beginning of the thirteenth century, this piece is called *regina* [*e*]. I believe it is not poſſible to trace the term *fers* in the Engliſh language beyond the time of Chaucer. In the reign of Henry VII. the piece was called *queen*, as appears from the following paſſage in the Vulgaria of W. Horman, printed at London, 1519; "we ſhulde have II kyngis, and II *quyens*, IIII alfyns, IIII knyghtis, IIII rokis, and XVI paunys," and indeed it was called ſo before this time, as appears from Caxton's Game of Cheſs.

The BISHOP was, by the Engliſh writers before cited, called *Alphyn*, *Awfyn*, and *Alfin*; by the old French romancers, *Aufin*. Hyde ſays that the Spaniards, who borrowed many words from the Moors, formed the word *Alfil* from the Arabic *fil*, the name of this piece on the Eaſtern cheſs-board, which

[*d*] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions & Belles Lettres, tom. V.

[*e*] Geſta Romanorum cum applicationibus moraliſatis & myſticis, ſine anno aut loco. Folio. cap. CLXVI. The Queen is likewiſe called *Virgo* in a work of uncertain date, cited p. 404.

ſignifies

ſignifies an elephant; and that Jacobus de Ceſſolis, who wrote his treatiſe on Chefs in the thirteenth century, adopted this word [*f*]; and from him the above Engliſh and French terms originated. What was the ſhape of the piece at this time, will probably never appear. The preſent Spaniſh and Italian chefs terms, *Alfieres* and *Alfiere*, or *Alfino*, although they ſignify a *ſtandard-bearer*, are evidently from the ſame ſource; indeed there is hardly an end to the chace after this word, which leads one through a labyrinth of conjectures, and preſents itſelf under the various forms of *fil*, *Alfil*, *Alfin*, Ἐλφινος, Δελφινος, Ἐλεφας, the Hebrew *eleph*, &c. Damiano, whoſe book on chefs was printed in 1524, calls it *Delfino*, *Alfil*, and *Alfiro*, and gives a cut of it, as does likewiſe the Italian tranſlator of Ruy Lopez in 1584. In both theſe repreſentations it reſembles an urn.

The French at a very early period called this piece *Fol.* It is eaſy to trace this word as a Chefs term from the original *fil.* It occurs in the Roman de la Roſe, and in a manuſcript of the Roman du vœu du Paon, where it is likewiſe called *Aufin.*

C'eſt droite compaignie avec le *fol* cuidier. Roman du Vœu du Paon.
I cele ſon *Aufin* quel cuide conqueſter. Ibid.

From this it is probable that the antient term was ſtill retained even after the change in the form of the piece took place. To account for this change is no difficult matter, when it is conſidered what a favourite perſonage the fool was in thoſe times. Kings and queens ſeldom appeared without their fools; and this made the ſatyrical Regnier ſay,

Or ce n'eſt point pour eſtre elevé de fortune
Aux ſages comme aux fous c'eſt choſe aſſez commune

[*f*] De ludis oriental. p. 95.

Elle avance un chacun ſans raiſon & ſans chois.
Les *fous* ſont aux *echecs* les plus proches des Rois. Sat. XIV.

A farther proof, that the figure of a fool conſtituted one of the pieces on the antient French cheſs-board, occurs in a curious ſpiritual romance intitled "Le pelerin de vie humaine." It was compoſed in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by William de Guileville, a Ciſtercian monk, in French rhyme, and at the inſtance of Jeanne de Laval, queen of Sicily, rendered into proſe by Jean Gallopez, a prieſt at Angiers. In this book the author has deſcribed the cheſs king at the head of his pieces attacking and undermining the foundations of a church. In an edition of the tranſlation printed in 1504, there is a cut of a cheſs-board with a fool among the pieces. The French yet retain this name, and I have ſeen French and German cheſs-men, among which this piece has occurred.

I have not been able to diſcover when this piece was firſt called an *Archer*, or for what reaſon. Rabelais, in his allegorical deſcription of the game, has ſo termed it, but, perhaps, with as much licence as Colonna, the author of Poliphilo, whom Rabelais copied, has called it the *Secretary*; and yet may not this circumſtance have given occaſion to another change? Archers were formerly the body-guards of monarchs, and might have been thought by ſome more proper perſonages in the game of cheſs than fools, eſpecially if they were inclined to give it a military turn. It is alſo to be obſerved, that Vida in his poem on cheſs, which was, I believe, written a little before the celebrated work of Rabelais, deſcribes this piece as an archer; and Beale, who publiſhed a tranſlation of Biochimos's Royal Game of Cheſſe-play in 1656, makes the biſhop and archer the ſame, with a cloven head.

It

It is perhaps impoſſible to trace the firſt appearance of this piece with a forked or cloven head. It is repreſented ſomething in this manner in Caxton's tranſlation of Jacobus de Ceſſolis, but his rook is given as ſtill more ſo. I obſerve that the Engliſh and Danes alone, in modern times, called it the *Biſhop*, and the firſt mention of this term that I have met with, in England, is in Saul's famous game of Cheſſe-play, originally publiſhed in 1640, who ſays the game reſembles a well-compoſed commonwealth, the biſhop repreſenting the clergy, "with high cloven heads like a biſhop's miter."

Hyde aſſerts, that the Europeans, not regarding the true deſign of the game, improperly placed the biſhop after the queen [*g*]; but he has not, upon this occaſion been attentive to dates and changes; for it has been ſhewn, that the biſhop was not antiently ſo called in England, nor has he adduced any proofs that it was ſo termed by any other people in Europe; nevertheleſs there are ſtrong reaſons to ſuppoſe, that at a very early period the French had ſuch a piece upon their cheſs-board; for, in the Roman d'Alexandre, one of the moſt antient poems in the French language, there is a deſcription of a cheſs-board, in which it is ſaid,

> Roy, fierce, chevalier, Auffin, roc, & *cornu*,
> Furent fet de ſaphir.

And in a collection of *Jeux-partis*, or games at cheſs, preſerved among the Cotton manuſcripts [*b*], the ſame piece is thus mentioned:

> Al neofime vient avant *li cornuz*
> Si li moſtre les *corns aguz*.

[*g*] De ludis oriental. p. 77.
[*b*] Cleopat. B. IX.

I have not been able to find, after the moſt diligent ſearch, any other example of this word, nor does it occur in any of the French gloſſaries; it is however certain, that *Cornua* was uſed in the middle ages for a mitre, and *Cornutus* for a biſhop, which latter word to modern ears may ſound a little ambiguous; but it is to be conſidered, that the celibacy of this dignified character muſt in thoſe days have done away the poſſibility of miſconſtruction. Whether the *Cornu* formed an additional piece in the antient European game, or whether the term was ſynonymous with the *Alfin*, is not quite clear. There is, however, ſome reaſon to believe, that the *Alfin*, the *Cornu*, and the *Biſhop*, were in fact the ſame; for, in a poem intitled "De Vetula," commonly aſcribed to Ovid, but, with more probability, ſuppoſed to have been written during the middle ages by a monk named Pamphilus Maurilianus [*i*], there is a deſcription of the game of cheſs, wherein the author compares the cheſs-men to the planets in the following manner:

> Rex eſt ſol, pedes eſt Saturnus, Mars quoque miles,
> Regia Virgo Venus, *Alphinus Epiſcopus* ipſe eſt,
> Juppiter et Roccus diſcurrens Luna.

In a very old Latin poem upon cheſs, printed by Dr. Hyde [*k*] from a manuſcript in the Bodleian library, the piece next the king is termed *Calvus*, and, if this denotes a monk with a ſhaven crown, it is another very early inſtance of the introduction of prieſts among the cheſs-men.

The Germans call this piece the *hound*, or the *runner*; the Ruſſians and Swedes the *elephant*; and the Poles the *prieſt*.

[*i*] Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. I. 276, & Biblioth. med. & infimæ Latinitatis, V. 556.

[*k*] De ludis oriental. p. 179.

Dr.

Dr. Hyde, in his defcription of what are ufually called Charlemagne's chefs-men in the treafury of St. Denis [*l*], makes it to be an *archer*, but thefe men cannot be very ancient, if, as he fays, the Pawns carry muſkets on their ſhoulders, a circumſtance rather doubtful from a copy of one of them taken by Mr. Twifs [*m*], which has not at preſent this weapon; it is not however improbable, that it may have been broken off by frequent handling. I endeavoured to aſcertain this fact in the year 1791, but the men were not to be found.

The KNIGHT has been always ſo called upon the French and Engliſh chefs-boards. It is probable that he was repreſented in the earlieſt times as mounted on his charger; Vida has ſo defcribed this piece, and hence in modern times it has been ſimply termed the *horſe*, and ſo repreſented. The Spaniards and Italians have adopted both thoſe names, but give it the form of a horſe's head. With us it is not only repreſented as a horſe's head, in which caſe it is ufually called the Horſe, but with a ſlanting top, when it is termed the knight. Saul, in 1640, defcribes the knights as having "heads cutte a ſlaunte, as though they wore a feather or plume at their helmet," but I do not think he has hit the mark; it moſt probably has reference to a ſquare kind of helmet, antiently worn by knights [*n*], and which would be conſidered as a very good ſymbol of knighthood. Theſe pieces on the European chefs-board denoted the nobility; among Charlemagne's men they have been converted into *Centaurs*. The Germans, from the nature of their motion on

[*l*] De ludis oriental. p. 133.

[*m*] Chefs, 1787, 8vo. p. 3. The figure of this Pawn was not publiſhed with the book.

[*n*] See a repreſentation of ſuch a helmet in Groſe's Treatiſe on Antient Armour and Weapons, Plate IX. Nos. 6, 10, 11.

the

the board, call them *Leapers*; among the Poles and Danes they are termed *Knights*, and among the Ruſſians *Horſes*.

The origin of our ROOK is certainly to be ſought for in the old French term *Roc*, or, as it is ſometimes written in antient manuſcript poems, *Ros*. I do not conceive, as ſome have done, that this French word denoted upon this occaſion a *rock* or *fortreſs*, but that it was immediately borrowed, together with the Spaniſh and Italian terms, from *Ruc*, the Eaſtern name of this piece.

It is indeed difficult to ſay what the original form of it was on the European cheſs-board; the oldeſt we know of is that repreſented in Caxton's tranſlation of Jacobus de Ceſſolis; it is likewiſe to be found under the ſame ſhape in books of heraldry under the name of Cheſs-rook [*o*].

In Staninfield church in Suffolk is a font made in the reign of Henry VII. with the arms of the Rookwoods, by whom the church was built. Theſe arms are ſix Cheſs rooks of the following ſhape.

On other monuments, of a more modern date, they appear thus:

Both theſe figures very much reſemble the Rook in Caxton's book. Dr. Hyde thinks that its forked head is expreſſive of the two hunches upon the back of the *Dromedary*, under which figure it occurs upon the Eaſtern cheſs-board,

[*o*] See Gwillim's Diſplay of Heraldrie, 1632, folio, p. 321.

and

and he has given repreſentations of the Turkiſh chefs-men, in which this piece exactly reſembles that of Caxton [*p*]; but a difficulty ariſes in aſcertaining whether the moſt antient Eaſtern Ruc was repreſented as a Dromedary, which muſt be proved before Dr. Hyde's opinion can be adopted. Monſ. D'Herbelot informs us, that *Rokh* in the Perſian language ſignifies a valiant hero ſeeking after military adventures, in which character, he ſays, it was introduced into the game of chefs [*q*]. Every body knows what has been related in that admirable collection of ſtories, The Arabian Nights Entertainments, of a wonderful bird called the *Roc*, whoſe immenſe ſize is ſaid to darken the ſun. An account of this fictitious bird is alſo given by Marco Paulo, the Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century [*r*]; but it is needleſs to proſecute this enquiry any farther, after Sir William Jones has informed us, that the Rook is to be deduced from *Rot'h* of the old Hindoo game of chefs, which was an armed chariot; this, he ſays, the Perſians changed into *Rokh*, of which word he adds "the etymology has in vain been ſought for [*s*]."

I conceive that our term *Caſtle*, as applied to this piece, is of a very modern date, and that, with the French *Tour*, it originated from its ſhape. It is ſo repreſented in the early Italian diſſertations on the game although uniformly called *il Roccho*. Some careleſs writers confounding this term, which is evidently from the ſame ſource as the old French *Roc*, with *Rocca*, a *fortreſs*, have increaſed the miſtake by

[*p*] De ludis oriental. pp. 79, 133.

[*q*] Bibliotheque Orientale, fol 1697, p. 718.

[*r*] Paulus Venetus de Regionibus Orientalibus. Brandenburg, 1671, 4to. Lib. III. cap. 40.

[*s*] Aſiatic Reſearches, p. 161.

tracing a ſuppoſed connexion between a *caſtle* and a *fortreſs*, which has given riſe to a multitude of conjectures. It is probable, that the European form of the caſtle was copied in part from ſome antient Indian piece with the *Elephant and Caſtle* on his back. It is thus deſcribed by Vida; and whilſt the French, Spaniards, Engliſh, and Italians, have retained the *tower* only, the Danes and Germans have adopted the *elephant* without the *caſtle*, by the former of which names it is alſo called by them. In the reign of Charles I. Saul informs us, that the Rook was repreſented with a round buttoned cap on its head; he ſtupidly derives the term from the Latin *Rus*; "which Rookes," ſays he, "ſtanding for the yeomanry, reſemble a good farmer, or a plain (though rich) freeholder." From ſuch a ſpecimen, it is preſumed, that no more quotations from this writer will be wiſhed for.

By the Poles this piece is alſo termed the *Rook*; the Ruſſians make it a *boat*, or rather its *keel*. Dr. Hyde ſuppoſes this to be from the length or velocity of its motion [*t*], which, he ſays, in the Eaſtern cheſs-board originated from the manner in which the dromedary travels. The Swedes, according to the ſame author, call it the *leaper*, and have made it change places with the Biſhop. Among Charlemagne's pieces it is termed the *Elephant*.

It remains only to notice the Pawns. Theſe appear to have been always ſo called among ourſelves, and by the French in the middle ages *paon*, *paounet*, *paonnez*, *paonniers*, *poons*, *poonnes*, and *pionnes* [*u*]. Dr. Hyde, who does not ſeem to be acquainted with this more antient French term, derives our Pawn from the Spaniſh *peon*, or French *pion*, which he thinks a contraction of *eſpion*, a *ſpy*, or *peton*, a *footman*; in which

[*t*] De ludis oriental. p. 78.

[*u*] In the Romance of the Roſe they are called "Garçons."

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he is evidently miſtaken [*u*]. They are all, probably, from *pedones*, a barbarous Latin term for *foot-ſoldiers*, which in this game were repreſented by the Pawns. By the Italians they are called *pedone*, by the Spaniards *peones*. The Ruſſians and Poles make them alſo *foot-ſoldiers*. The Germans, Danes, and Swedes, have converted them into *peaſants*.

Much confuſion has ariſen from the arbitrary changes of the names as well as forms of the cheſs-men by different nations. Some have retained the forms whilſt they have altered the names, and others the names after having changed the forms. Thus it has happened with cards; we retain the Spaniſh terms of Clubs and Spades, whilſt we have adopted the French ſuits.

The writers of the middle ages in ſpeaking of the cheſsmen univerſally ſtyle them *familiæ*. Ducange cites a proclamation iſſued at Paris in 1320, with theſe words: "Item unum ſcacarium de jaſpide & calſidonio cum *familia* [*x*]." In Pope Innocent's "Moralitas de Scacario," the ſame term occurs [*y*]; and in the wardrobe account of Edward I. printed by this ſociety, are the following articles, "Una *familia* pro ſcaccario de jaſpide et criſtallo, in uno coffro." "Una *familia* de ebore pro ludendo ad ſcaccarium [*z*]." The men were generally white and black, and ſometimes red and black.

I do not think that any information, beyond the names of the cheſs-men, is to be collected from Jacobus de Ceſſolis, or his tranſlator Caxton. The work has little or nothing relating to the game itſelf, but is a dull moralization, or ra-

[*u*] De ludis oriental. p. 79.
[*x*] Gloſſarium med. & infimæ Latinitatis, tom. VI. p. 169.
[*y*] Cheſs. 1789, vol. II. p. 4.
[*z*] Ibid. pp. 350, 351.

ther an allegory of human affairs, aſſimilated in a very clumſy manner to the game of cheſs; and therefore the deſcription of the men is not to be conſidered as real. It was the faſhion in thoſe times to moraliſe every thing; thus we have a moralization of that licentious poem, The Romance of the Roſe; and to the Tales in the Geſta Romanorum, of which Mr. Warton has given a correct analyſis in his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, moralizations are likewiſe added.

I ſhall conclude with a wiſh, that the foregoing obſervations may be in any degree ſerviceable or acceptable to thoſe who may intereſt themſelves in the moſt excellent game that the wit of man has yet deviſed. The ſubject is certainly difficult, and I am not without apprehenſion, that future reſearches may convict me of many errors. To have drawn forth ſuch a conviction may nevertheleſs have its uſe; and it ſhould be remembered, that in ſpeculative enquiries like the preſent, the truth is ſeldom attained until many viſionary ſyſtems have been deſtroyed.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient ſervant,

28*th April*, 1793. FRANCIS DOUCE.

Antient Cup from Glastenbury.

XXVI. *Obſervations on an antient Cup formerly belonging to the Abbey of* Glaſtonbury. *By the Rev.* John Milner, M. A. F. S. A. *in a Letter to Mr.* Gough.

Read February 27, 1794.

SIR, *Wincheſter, Feb.* 1, 1793.

THIS antient cup*, with a handle and cover to it, exactly in the form of a modern tankard, is of oak, and has been lackered over, eſpecially in the inſide, with a ſtrong varniſh, which muſt have greatly contributed to its preſervation. It is indeed as perfect as when it firſt came out of the workman's hands, except the pegs mentioned below the joint, and that unite the cover with the handle, which appears to have been broken, and afterwards replaced by an artiſt of inferior ſkill. The contents of the cup are juſt two quarts of ale meaſure, and there were originally eight pegs, placed one above another, in the inſide, which divided the contained liquor into equal quantities of half a pint each. The four uppermoſt of theſe pegs remain, and the holes are diſcernible from which the remaining four have fallen. On the lid is carved the Crucifixion, with the figure of the

* Pl. XVIII.

Bleſſed Virgin Mary on the right hand of our Saviour, and that of St. John on his left, together with a ſtar over each of them, and a cherub on either ſide. The knob on the handle, which was intended for the purpoſe of raiſing up the cover, repreſents a bunch of grapes. Round the body of the cup itſelf are carved the twelve Apoſtles, whoſe names, in capital letters, are inſcribed on labels under their reſpective figures. Each of them holds in his hands an open book, except St. Peter, who bears a key, St. John, who ſupports a chalice, and Judas Iſcariot, who graſps at a purſe. Beneath the labels of the Apoſtles are ſeen birds, beaſts, and full-blown flowers of different kinds; and under theſe again ſerpents, which, by two and two, joining their heads together, produce the forms of ſtrange monſters; but, in all theſe laſt-mentioned ornaments, I can diſcover no conſiſtent meaning, and therefore I attribute them to the mere fancy of the artiſt. The three feet on which the cup ſtands, and which deſcend an inch below the body of it, conſiſt of as many figures of lions couchant, which figures of lions were, perhaps, ſo often adopted by our anceſtors, as the ſupporters of thrones, ſtatues, monuments, and a variety of other things, in conſequence of their having been employed for the ſame purpoſe, in the throne of Solomon, as we learn in the firſt book of Kings x. 19, 20.

Having deſcribed this curious cup, I ſhall now proceed to give the beſt account I have been able to collect of its hiſtory, its date, and its original uſe.

The ſubſtance of its hiſtory is furniſhed by the noble lord to whom it belongs, in a letter to the author, dated June 10, 1793, of which the following is an extract: "This cup is "ſaid to have been brought to Wardour caſtle from the "antient abbey of Glaſtonbury, and is one of the very few "things

" things which were ſaved at the deſtruction of that antient " ſtructure, which Blanch lady Arundell ſo nobly defended " in the abſence of her huſband. It is mentioned, in one of " the old inventories of the effects belonging to the caſtle, as " coming from Glaſtonbury abbey, and probably was much " eſteemed, as ſuch care was taken of it in preference to " things poſſibly of greater value." It may not be improper to add a few obſervations to this account of the preſent antique, which appear to be more or leſs connected with its hiſtory.

Glaſtonbury abbey, though inferior to St. Alban's in point of rank [*a*], was ſuperior to that and all our other antient religious eſtabliſhments, for its antiquity and the veneration in which it was held. Whether Joſeph of Arimathea, as our moſt learned writers maintain [*b*], or ſome other pious pilgrim of the name of Joſeph, was its founder, certain it is, that in the reign of Henry II. it was not only univerſally admitted to have been " the fountain and origin of the Chriſ- " tian religion in this iſland," but alſo its firſt eſtabliſhment was carried up to the immediate diſciples of Chriſt; for both theſe points are expreſsly declared by the aforeſaid prince, in a charter [*c*] which he granted for rebuilding that abbey,

[*a*] This precedency of St. Alban's before all the other abbeys in England was appointed by Adrian IV. in 1554. See Stevens's Monaſticon, vol. I. p. 27. This pope, whoſe original name was Nicholas Breakſpear, is generally ſaid to have been a monk of St. Alban's. Had this been ſo, it is ſtrange that Matthew Paris, who lived ſo near the time, and who was himſelf a religious of the ſame abbey, ſhould have deſcribed him as a perſon who was merely born on the eſtates of the monaſtery, " De territorio Sancti Albani procreatus " See Mat. Paris, ad an. 1154.

[*b*] Godwin de Præſul. Angl. Uſher Primord. Camden, Somerſetſhire, &c.

[*c*] See the ſaid charter in Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccl. Ang p. 3. Appendix to Stevens's Monaſticon, II. p. 112.

when it had been burnt down; after having cauſed, as he ſays, the original charters and other documents relating to antiquity to be laid before him. We learn from the ſame charter, and from different writers, that Glaſtonbury was generally called *The Mother of Saints*, and *The Tomb of Saints*, from the number of perſons renowned for their ſanctity who had there been educated or interred. It was, no doubt, owing to the peculiar veneration in which the church of Glaſtonbury was held at the time of the Saxon invaſion, that, though it was ſtripped of its revenues, it eſcaped the total deſtruction which fell upon all other religious foundations, which came under the power of our Pagan anceſtors [*d*]. It was reſerved, however, for the pious prince Ina to become properly its ſecond founder; and, for that great patron of monks, Edgar, to raiſe it to that ſuperior degree of magnificence, which it continued to ſupport (as thoſe ſtupendous and beautiful ruins, now a prey to the moſt ſordid avarice, ſtill teſtify) down to the time of the deſtruction of abbeys. At that period it was diſtinguiſhed by the conſcientious firmneſs of its abbot Richard Whiting, who, refuſing to countenance that ſacrilegious farce which the commiſſioners of Cromwell were every where playing, in *forcing* the monks to make a *voluntary* ſurrender of their property [*e*], was ſuddenly ſeized upon at the abbey gate [*f*], and, with his two confidential monks, dragged to the famous Tor, which overlooks the monaſtery, and where a chapel under the name of St. Michael then ſtood, and there was executed, together with them, to the terror of their brethren.

[*d*] See the abovementioned charter. Alſo a letter of St. Auguſtine to St. Gregory, cited by Uſher. Alſo Antiq. Glaſton. apud Malmſb.

[*e*] See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt vol. II. p. 164.

[*f*] Ibid.

It

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that at the deſtruction of the monaſteries their inhabitants ſhould intruſt ſuch valuable or curious effects, as, not conſiſting of the precious metals, had eſcaped the rapine of the commiſſioners, to their friends in the neighbourhood, in hopes of better times. And it is more than poſſible, that, by this means, the preſent cup ſhould have got into the poſſeſſion of the Arundel family, who are known not to have given into the prevailing changes in religion, one branch of which family was then ſettled at Wardour.

But if we do not diſtinctly know by what means the preſent cup was ſaved at the diſſolution of abbeys, we are not ignorant to whom we are indebted for the preſervation of it in the great rebellion. The perſon in queſtion we have heard was Blanch, lady Arundel, the fifth daughter of Edward Somerſet, marquis of Worceſter, the firm and powerful friend of Charles I. in his diſtreſs, and the anceſtor of the preſent duke of Beaufort. This lady Blanch, as we learn from the *Mercurius Ruſticus* [*g*], being ſummoned May 2, 1633, by Sir Edward Hungerford, the rebel commander in the Weſt, and colonel Strode, with an army of 1300 men, to ſurrender the plate belonging to the family, and to permit the caſtle to be ſearched for this purpoſe, refuſed to comply; and, though ſhe had but 25 fighting men in garriſon, ſhe ſtood a ſiege of nine days, during ſeven of which the caſtle was cannonaded, while two different mines, in the interim, were ſprung under it. At length, the ammunition of the garriſon being ſpent, this lady ſurrendered her caſtle upon honourable terms [*h*];

[*g*] Written by Bruno Ryves, chaplain to king Charles I. afterwards dean of Windſor. Some few circumſtances, however, in the preſent account of the ſiege, are gathered from traditions in the family.

[*h*] The original of the capitulation is ſtill preſerved at Wardour.

one article of which was, that all the effects in it ſhould be preſerved for the proprietors, and for this purpoſe it was agreed, that two inventories of the ſame ſhould be made out, one of them to be preſerved by the lady, and the other by Sir Edward Hungerford. Theſe conditions, however, being ſhamefully violated by the rebels, lady Arundell took an opportunity of withdrawing certain articles of her property, and amongſt the reſt the cup before us, which ſhe valued ſo much, that, retiring to Wincheſter, at the death of her huſband, ſhe took this cup along with her, and kept it in her poſſeſſion as long as ſhe lived. The abſence of lord Arundell, during the aforeſaid ſiege, was occaſioned by his attendance on the king at Oxford, in whoſe ſervice he raiſed a regiment of horſe. Returning, however, ſome time afterwards into the Weſt, and finding himſelf too weak to retake his caſtle from the rebels, he contrived to ſpring a mine under it, and thus reduced that magnificent ſtructure to the ruinous ſtate in which it is ſeen at the preſent day.

To judge of the time when the cup was made, it is proper to attend to the ſtyle of the ornamental carvings about it, to the particular figures of the Apoſtles, and to the form of the characters in which their names are inſcribed. In the firſt place then it is obſervable, that each of theſe figures is placed under a circular arch, which being indented in the under part, in a zig-zag manner, and ſurmounted with a kind of tortuous moulding, ſeems to beſpeak a true Saxon origin. In the ſecond place, all the Apoſtles are here repreſented with long hair; and all of them, except St. John and St. James the Leſs, who are ſuppoſed to have been called to the Apoſtleſhip in their early youth, appear with long beards. Now, I take long hair and long beards, eſpecially amongſt eccleſiaſtical perſonages, to have been much more common

in

in the time of the Saxons than after the Norman invaſion. The dreſſes alſo, in my opinion, favour much more of the former than of the latter period. Certain it is, that Pere Montfaucon gives us [*i*], from the antient portail of St. Germain des Prez, certain figures of the Apoſtles, which, in their beards, hair, and dreſſes, are not like thoſe under conſideration. Theſe figures he ſuppoſes to belong to the eighth or ninth century. There is alſo a negative argument drawn from theſe figures, which weighs much with me in favour of the high antiquity of the cup; namely, that the Apoſtles are all repreſented without their diſtinctive marks, except the three, whoſe proper emblems are deduced from the Scripture itſelf [*k*]. Now, as I take the generality of the received emblems of the ſaints to have been invented about the eleventh or the twelfth century [*l*], ſo I believe it will be difficult to find a ſeries of Apoſtles painted or carved, during the laſt five or ſix hundred years, in which, for example, St. Andrew is not ſeen with his Burgundy croſs, St. James the elder with his ſtaff and cockle-ſhell, St. Simon with his ſaw, and ſo of the reſt of them. I muſt not forget another argument in favour of the Saxon origin of the preſent article, for which I am indebted to the reſearches of our learned ſecretary [*m*], who informs us, that king Edgar, in order to reſtrain the prevailing habit of drunkenneſs, which had been introduced among his ſubjects by the Danes, cauſed certain pins or pegs to be fixed in the drinking-cups, appointing a puniſhment

[*i*] Antiq. de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. I.

[*k*] For St. Peter's key, ſee Matth. c. xvi. v. 19. For St. John's cup, Matth. c. xx. v. 23. For Judas's purſe, John, c. xii. v. 13.

[*l*] See the author's "Inquiry concerning the exiſtence and character of St. George," in a letter inſcribed to the right hon. Preſident.

[*m*] See Brand upon Bourne, p. 340.

for thoſe who drank below their proper mark. Now, as ſo ſingular, and I will add ſo ineffectual, a law was not likely to have been long enforced after the time of the prince who framed it, ſo I think he himſelf would never have attempted to impoſe it upon the nation at large, unleſs they had been in ſome degree prepared for it, by ſeeing it already obſerved in their numerous religious communities.

But the form of the characters in the names of the Apoſtles will perhaps be thought to furniſh the moſt deciſive criterion in the preſent queſtion. Theſe inſcriptions conſiſt entirely of Roman characters, neither of a very elegant, nor of a very ruſtic form, and are chiefly remarkable for being joined together in ſuch manner that the ſame line forms part of two letters. At the firſt ſight of theſe characters every Antiquary will pronounce that they do not belong to any century between the eleventh and the ſixteenth. They muſt at leaſt be coeval with the Conqueſt, about which time the Roman capitals degenerated into the Gothic, or they cannot be much more antient than the diſſolution of abbeys, namely, when the Roman characters began to be reſumed. Now, I think it very unlikely, that the rich monks of Glaſtonbury would have cauſed a drinking-cup to be made of wood for their uſe ſo late as the ſixteenth century, much leſs that it ſhould, in thoſe circumſtances, have acquired that reſpect which the Arundell family, no doubt, derived for it from its original poſſeſſors. But, independently of this, I think the form of many of the letters, the frequency of the double letters, and the ſubſtitution of the *D* for a *T* in the word *Peter*, have a much greater relation with the reign of an Egbert than that of a Tudor. I mention the reign of Egbert in preference to that of any other Saxon prince, becauſe about his time, by the care of that great patron of literature, Charlemagne,

magne, a great improvement is allowed to have taken place in penmanſhip, and the form of the letters was brought much nearer than before to the true Roman ſtandard [*n*]. Such was my own theory of this mattter, when meeting with a favourable opportunity of conſulting Mr. Aſtle on the form of theſe letters, whom I furniſhed at the ſame time with a fac-ſimile of the moſt remarkable of them; that eminent judge was pleaſed to confirm my conjectures, by a letter with which he honoured me, dated *Batterſea Riſe*, *December* 16, 1793, of which the following is an extract: "I do not he-
"ſitate to deliver it as my opinion, that the characters are
"antient. They may be as old as the tenth or the eleventh
"century, if not older. They are ſimilar to thoſe in my
"regiſter of Hyde abbey, the greateſt part of which was
"written between the years 1028 and 1032. In this regiſter
"are ſeveral rites and ceremonies uſed in the times of the
"Saxons. The titles abound in joined and double let-
"ters, like thoſe you have ſent me. The letters *D* and *T*
"were ſynonymous from the times of the Romans until the
"Norman Conqueſt, as many inſcriptions and manuſcripts
"abundantly prove."

The ſize of this cup, and the pegs at equal diſtances in the inſide, together with the traditionary account of the family to which it belongs, ſeem clearly to point out the uſe for which it was intended, namely, for ſeveral perſons to drink out of, in ſtated quantities, on particular occaſions. Hence we may ſafely call this curious antique, a *grace-cup*, *poculum charitatis*, or *waſſel-bowl*. Both the Greeks and the Romans were accuſtomed, as well at their ſacrifices as at their feaſts, to drink wine out of the ſame veſſel, with certain particular ce-

[*n*] See Dom. de Vaines, Dictionnaire Diplom. vol. I. p. 446.

remonies and forms of ſpeech. On the former occaſions, immediately before the ſlaughter of the victims, the ceremony of *Libatio*, or *lightly taſting* of wine from the *ſimpulum*, was practiſed by the Augur, and in ſucceſſion by the other perſons preſent [*o*]. At their feaſts the cup called ἀγαθῦ δαίμονος, or *boni genii* [*p*], was handed about by the gueſts, from one to the other, each of whom invoked this ſuppoſed deity at the time of his drinking, which was the ſame as to wiſh good fortune to one another. The cuſtom, however, of *waſſelling*, ſtrictly ſo called, or of drinking healths, ſeems to be of German origin, and to have been introduced into this iſland, together with the paſſion itſelf for drinking [*q*], by our Saxon anceſtors. Every one is acquainted with the celebrated ſtory of Rowena [*r*], the daughter, or rather the niece, of Hengiſt, who, in waiting at table on Vortigern, and drinking his health out of the cup ſhe preſented to him, won the affections of that weak monarch, and facilitated the future conqueſts of her countrymen over the Britons. The introduction of Chriſtianity amongſt our anceſtors did not at all contribute to the abolition of the practice of Waſſelling. On the contrary it began to aſſume a kind of religious aſpect; and the Waſſel bowl itſelf, which, in the great monaſteries, was placed on the abbot's table [*s*], at the upper end of the

[*o*] Pancirolus, Liber rerum deperditarum.

[*p*] See Eraſmi Adagiorum Chil. I. Cent. vi. N° 53. Alſo Chiliad. II. Cent. iv. N° 74. Alſo Archæolog. Attic. Lib. VI. ſect. 2, c. 4.

[*q*] "Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum." Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.

[*r*] See Verſtegan, "Reſtitution of Decayed Intelligence," p. 101, who cites Ulitapitus, and other German writers. The ſubſtance of this Hiſtory occurs in Malmſbury. De Geſtis Reg. Ang. Lib. I.

[*s*] Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Abbat. S. Alban.

refectory,

refectory, or eating-hall, to be circulated amongſt the community at his diſcretion, received the honourable appellation of *Poculum Charitatis*. The liquor with which it was uſually filled was wine ſweetened and ſpiced, of which our anceſtors were immoderately fond, under the name of *Hippocras*, and ſometimes Metheglin, or Mead. This appears from the following curious account of a viſit of king Edgar to the abbey of Abingdon, which occurs in the hiſtory of the ſame [*t*], and which I ſhall here cite in the original: "Venit Rex quadam "die ad monaſterium, ut ædificiorum ſtructuram per ſe "ipſum ordinaret; menſuſque eſt omnia fundamenta pro- "priâ manu, quemadmodum muros erigere decreverat: ro- "gavitque eam abbas in hoſpitio cum ſuis prandere. An- "nuit Rex ilico; & contigit adeſſe ſibi non paucos optima- "tum ſuorum venientes ex gente Northanimbrorum, qui om- "nes cum Rege adierunt convivium. Lætatuſque eſt Rex, "& juſſit abunde propinare hoſpitibus *hydromellum*. Quid "multa? hauſerunt miniſtri liquorem tota die ad omnem "ſufficientiam convivantibus; ſed nequivit ipſe liquor ex- "hauriri de vaſe, niſi ad menſuram palmi, gaudentibus "Northanhimbris & veſperi cum lætitia recedentibus." Leaving the miraculous part of this ſtory out of the queſtion, it appears that this was a true Waſſelling bout, and that metheglin was the beverage made uſe of on the occaſion. I have hinted, that in regular communities the practice of Waſſelling only obtained, in general, on extraordinary occaſions. At thoſe times the fare in other reſpects was better than uſual, and, in particular, a finer kind of bread was provided, which, on this account, was called Waſſel bread.

[*t*] See Anglia Sacra, vol. I. p. 164.

This is ſo inconteſtible, that I am ſurprized how a late learned author [*u*] ſhould have entered into ſo long a diſquiſition concerning the nature of this bread, mention of which frequently occurs in the rules of the hoſpital of St. Croſs near this city, and that, in the end, he ſhould have derived this name from the *Waſtellum*, or *Veſſel*, in which he ſuppoſes the bread to have been made.

But if the ceremony of Waſſelling was performed at ſtated times, and with due ſolemnity, in monaſteries and other places ſubject to the rules of ſtrict diſcipline, the caſe was far different amongſt the common people at their uſual parties for drinking. A ſpirited poet [*x*], in the reign of king John, has given us a lively deſcription of the noiſy and tumultuous manner of their Waſſelling, or circulating the bowl, with the original cry of *Was heil* [*y*], in the following lines:

> " Jamque vagante ſcypho, diſtincto gutture *Was-heil*
> " Ingeminant *Was-heil:* labor eſt plus perdere vini
> " Quam ſitis."

It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that the term of Waſſelling in proceſs of time was made uſe of to ſignify a variety of other practices beſides that of drinking healths, probably, becauſe theſe were accompanied with convivial drinking.

[*u*] See the Life of William of Wykeham, by Dr. Louth, p. 75.

[*x*] Camden, who in his Remaines, p. 316, has preſerved theſe verſes, calls the author, John Hanvill; Pits "de Illuſtr. Angl. Script." p. 266, calls him Joannes Hantivillenſis, and ſays he was a monk of St. Alban's.

[*y*] Verſtegan gives the following etymology of this well known term: "As "*was* in our verb of the preterimperfect tenſe, or preterperfect tenſe, ſignifying "*have been*, ſo *was*, being the ſame verb in the imperative mood, and now pro- "nounced *wax*, is as much as to ſay *grow*, or become; and *Waes heal*, by cor- "ruption of pronunciation, afterwards came to be *Waſſail*." Reſtitution, p. 10.

In "The Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Houſehold [z], lately publiſhed by the Society, we have ſome account of the ceremony of Waſſelling, as it was practiſed at court, on Twelfth-night, in the reign of Henry VII. From theſe we learn, that the antient cuſtom of pledging each other out of the ſame cup had now given place to the more elegant practice of each perſon having his cup, and that "when the ſteward came in at the doore with the Waſſel, "he was to crie three tymes Waſſel, Waſſel, Waſſel; and "then the chappell (the chaplain) was to anſwere with a "good ſonge."

In the reign of Henry VIII. at the famous interview of the *Camp du Drap d' Or*, I have met with a ceremony which bears a great relation with the practice of Waſſelling. In this, not *health*, but *an increaſe of proſperity* was drunk to our king, with circumſtances of the greateſt ſolemnity, by the French heralds and kings at arms. The ceremony is deſcribed to have taken place at the feaſt which the queen of Francis I. gave to Henry: in which, ſays the writer, in the old French of the tymes, "Au tiers ſervice y eut Largeſſe crié "par les Roys d'armes & héraux, ayant un grand pot d'or "bien riche, et fut crié au nom du Roy d'Angleterre, di-"ſant: 'Largeſſe à tres hault, tres puiſſant & tres excellent "Prince Henri, par la grace de Dieu, Roy d'Angleterre, "Seigneur d'Ireland, Largeſſe, Largeſſe.' Puis viendrent les "officiers d'armes à la ſalle haulte ou étoit Monſieur le Duc "d'Alençon, & aultres Princes & ſeigneurs feſtoyent les "Princes d'Angleterre: & là crie Largeſſe, Bretaigne Roi "d'Armes. Puis viendrent crier Largeſſe au pavillon où

[z] P. 21,

"eſtoit

" eſtoit le feſtin et banquet publique, où y avoit grand nom-
" bre de gens [*a*]."

I remain, Sir,

Your faithful humble Servant,

JOHN MILNER.

[*a*] See this account by a contemporary writer, from the papers of Monſieur Peireſc, in Montfaucon's Monarchie Franç. vol. IV. p. 173.

APPEN-

A Drinking Horn, with a Whistle at the End, in the poſſeſsion of Owen Salusbury Brereton Esq.r found two feet under Ground in a Village in Iceland, called Baskogar; known to be above 200 Years old.

APPENDIX.

AT A

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

OF

ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That ſuch curious communications as the Council ſhall not think proper to publiſh *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Hiſtorical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.

A Drinking Horn, with a Whistle at the End, in the poſſeſſion of Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq.r found two feet under Ground in a Village in Iceland, called Liaskogar, known to be above 200 Years old.

APPENDIX.

Plate XIX.

Fig 1. and 2. are of gold, found in Ireland, and exhibited by Mr. Moleſworth, June 7, 1792.

Fig. 3. is a fibula of copper found on the eſtate of William Lowndes Selby, eſq. in the month of June, 1793, in a bed of ſolid clay at the depth of five feet below the ſurface of the ground, and by the ſide of a rivulet not a mile from the town of Winſlow, in Buckinghamſhire. It is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Grove, of Whitchurch, in that county, and was communicated to the Society by their ſecretary Mr. Wrighte, November 21, 1793.

Fig. 4. is a braſs pot, found, 1789, in cleaning out the medical well at Cloſeburn, five feet below the earth. The ground is a bog.

Fig. 5. is engraved from a drawing made by major Rooke, 1777, of an antient font at Bolton in Bolland, Yorkſhire, of a ſingular form, and ornamented on each face with the arms of the Pudſeys, and the families they intermarried into. At the bottom of the four ſides is a braſs fillet with an inſcription in black letter as follows:

Orate pro aia dni
phi pudſey milit &

uroris eius ac dni u' pudsey
obi ea i° die

Bolton church was built about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. out of the ruins of Sawley abbey; at which time the font was brought from Barford church in the biſhopric of Durham, and placed in Bolton church by one of the Pudſeys, whoſe family had the preſentation of that living. The preſent patron is Chriſtopher Dawſon, eſq. of Bolton hall.

Fig. 6. is a Scarabæus, exhibited November 29, 1792, by James Deacon, eſq. It was dug up in the Iſle of Shepy, at the depth of ſixty yards, with what Mr. Deacon calls "a red *china* plate and a piece of gold coin." This plate is moſt probably a patera, or other vaſe of Roman pottery; but neither that nor the gold coin is in his poſſeſſion. Can this have been worn as an amulet or charm? "Plinius lib. XXX. cap. 2. tradit quartanis febribus prodeſſe Scarabæum, qui pilulas volvit, atque ob id Ægypti magnam partem Scarabæos inter numina colere."

Alex. ab Alexandro, vol. II. p. 746. in notis.
Lugduni Batav. 1673.

The Seal fig. 7. is the property of Thomas Lamb, eſq. mayor of Rye. It was found in a gentleman's garden at Winchelſea, and ſuppoſed to be a private ſeal of John, ſon of Robert Glinde, and a work of the fifteenth century, partly from the form of the letters, and partly from other figures of the demi ſhips. The inſcription is

✠ S : IOH : IS : FILII : ROB'TI : GLINDE.
Sigillum Johannis filii Roberti Glinde.

This

This John Glinde ſeems from the device to have been a native of Winchelſea, or at leaſt a portman and a merchant. The firſt is indicated by three demi lions paſſant, conjoined with three demi ſhips, which are port arms; and the latter, bythe ſcroll, which I take to be a merchant's mark; and from theſe circumſtances I further premiſe that he had no family arms. Mr. John Woodd.

Fig. 8. is a braſs celt found in the iſle of Jerſey in 1779, of the original ſize.

Fig. 9. This old ſword or dagger was found in the neighbourhood of Alton caſtle in Staffordſhire, on the eſtate of the earl of Shrewſbury, which, from the account annexed to Buck's view of it, appears to be a place of great antiquity. The caſtle, ſituate between Cheadle and Aſhbourne, ſtands on the point of a rock, which on one ſide ſhoots into a narrow and deep valley, and is there nearly perpendicular. On the oppoſite ſide of the valley is a hill of ſteep aſcent, nearly flat at the top, of the extent of about fifty or ſixty acres, which appears to have been a military ſtation.

This laſt hill has partly been ſurrounded by a double foſs, of which there are evident marks ſtill left, on that part where the aſcent is the leaſt difficult; and the ſword was found in cutting a trench about a hundred yards from the outer ditch, at the depth of about a foot and a half in a piece of old paſture ground: but it does not appear that any other articles of antiquity have been diſcovered in the neighbourhood.

The ſword was broken into three parts in digging it up, and has been riveted ſince. The workman who was employed in doing this at firſt thought that it was made of cop-

per, but was afterwards of a different opinion, though he cannot aſcertain of what other metal it is compoſed; it has not thoſe qualities which are ſaid to belong to copper, though poſſibly thoſe qualities may have been deſtroyed by the inſtrument lying ſo long in the earth.

Alveton, Elveton, now Alton, is a caſtle more antient than the Norman Conqueſt. In the 22d of Henry II. Bertram de Verdun was lord of it, whoſe reſidence it was, and that of the family, till the 3d of Edward II. During the minority of Thomas de Verdun, William Fitz Richard had the care of his eſtates; and in his accounts we find ten pounds for half a year's maintenance of ſoldiers and ſervants in this caſtle. 7 Richard I. the manor had not leſs than ten (ſome ſay fourteen) villages belonging to it. Male iſſue failing, it came by marriage to the Furnivals, who held it for two ſucceſſions; when, by the ſame means, it came to Thomas Nevil, brother to the earl of Weſtmoreland; but, he alſo leaving only a daughter, it paſſed by her with her other eſtates to the famous Sir John Talbot, who in right of his wife was lord of this caſtle and lord Furnival, but afterwards created earl of Shrewſbury, in which family it ſtill remains.

Bertram, ſon to the noble Norman Verdon,
Founded the famous abbey of Croxden.
When Henry the Second was England's king,
He did performe this very great thing;
In the yeare one thouſand one hundred ſeventy-ſix
Upon this great work he his mind he did fix;
He dedicated it unto St. Mary,
Of the order of Bernardine monks to be
One hundred pounds ſix ſhillings and ſene pence
In lands he gave for its defenſe,

Beſides many other great gifts gine
By perſons devout for to gaine heaven,
Which, in its proſperity were it to be ſold,
Were worth many thouſand pounds in gold.

This account was communicated by Mr. Robert Barbor, dated Charterhouſe, 31 January, 1793.

Pl. XX. exhibits a ſpur found in Towton field near York.
Motto, "En loial amour tout mon coer."
Exhibited November 8, 1792.

Pl. XXI. is a drinking-horn, in the poſſeſſion of Owen Saluſbury Brereton, Eſq. found two feet under ground in a village in Iceland.

To the Rev. J. Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London.

Read January 23, 1794.

SIR,

AMONG ſome deeds in my poſſeſſion that belong to his Majeſty's Office of Ordnance is one which I have the pleaſure to tranſmit to you, and with it a correct copy. It is dated the 20th of January in the 30th year of the reign of king Henry VIII. and is of that ſpecies of inſtrument which, in office language, is emphatically ſtyled an *Indenture*. The king, it ſeems, had appointed commiſſioners under his privy ſeal to receive from Sir Thomas Clifford, the captain or governor of Berwick caſtle, poſſeſſion of the town, with the caſtle, tower, ordnance, arms, and military ſtores and utenſils, and to deliver them into the charge of his ſucceſſor, Sir William Ewer, otherwiſe Ivers; which delivery was performed by their executing an

inſtrument, of which this is the counterpart. The commiſſioners were, Sir Chriſtopher Morris at that time maſter of the ordnance, though not ſo deſcribed in the indenture, Sir Reynold Carnaby, and Robert Collingwood, Lionel Gray, and John Horſley, eſquires. And it appears, from an aukward recital of the privy ſeal, that the delivery of the town, &c. was intended to have taken place on the 11th or 12th day of the month; but, that on account of the abſence of Sir Chriſtopher Morris, one of the commiſſioners, the execution of that part of the commiſſion was deferred until the 20th, a circumſtance which the military exactneſs of the parties did not permit them to paſs over in ſilence.

There is nothing in the inſtrument that I am aware of, either in its form or ſubject matter, to gratify the curioſity of an experienced antiquary. At the ſame time, as it ſhews the mode of inveſtiture, or act of giving poſſeſſion in thoſe days to the governors of forfeited places, and contains the names of ſeveral pieces of ordnance and military weapons, as alſo of ſome implements of houſehold that are now no longer in uſe, you may, perhaps, deem it not too inſignificant for communication. Should you be of that opinion, I requeſt you will do me the honour to lay it before the Society.

I am,

With great eſteem and regard,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

ROBERT SMITH.

Baſinghall ſtreet,
23d *January*, 1794.

1539. (Copy).

The Indenture of the Caſtell of Berwyke, Sir William Ewre, alias Ivers, Capytayn of the ſayd Caſtell.

THYS Indenture made at the towne of Berwyke upon Twede, the 20th daye of the moneth of January, in the thirti yere of ye reigne off our ſoverain lorde kinge Henry the 8th. bitwene Sir Chriſtopher Moryce and Sir Raynold Carnaby knightes, Robert Collynwood, Leonell Graye, and John Horſeley, eſquires, commiſſioners aſſigned and auctoriſed by our ſayd ſoverain lorde the king's highneſs. That whereas the king's highnes hath directyd his commiſſyon under his privy ſeale, by the ſayd commiſſioners bering date at the pallays off Weſtmynſter the 22d daye of the moneth of December laſte paſte, wherin ys contayned the reſoorte of the ſayd commiſſioners to the towne off Berwyke, at the 11th or 12th daye of the ſaid moneth of January, to reſeave the ſame towne, caſtell, and towre of Berwyke, wyth all the kayes of the lokks of all the gaytes and poſterns off the ſaid toune, caſtell, and towre, as alſo all the ordinaunces, municyons, artillarye, and other habilyments of warre therto belongynge, of Sir Thomas Clyfford, or his aſſigns. And to deliver the ſaid toune, caſtell, and towre, with all the ordenaunces, municyons, artillarye, and other habilyments off warre therto belonginge, into the handes, cuſtodye, and poſſeſſyon of Sir Willyam Ewry, alias Ivers, knight, on the oon partye, and the ſaid Sir Willyam Ewry, alias Ivers, on the other partye, witneſſeth, that the ſaid commiſſyoners, according to the ſayd commiſſion, have reſeavyd and delyvered the ſayd toune,

caſtell, and towre of the Brydge, with all the kayes of the lokks of all the gaites, poſterns, as alſo with all the ordenaunces, municyons, artillarye, and habillyments of warre thereto belonginge, into the handes, cuſtodye, and poſſeſſyon of Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, to the king's uſe, the 20th daye of January aforeſayd. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, was preſent and redy, at the ſaid towne of Berwyke, with foure of the ſaid commiſſioners, at the 12th daye of January aforeſayd, according to the effecte of the ſayd commiſſion, to have reſeavyd the ſaid towne, caſtel, and towre; butt that oonly for the abſence of Sir Chriſtopher Moryce at the ſaid 12 daye off January, the delyvery of the ſayd towne, caſtell, and towre, was dyffary'd unto his commyng to the ſaid towne of Berwyke, whych was the 19th daye of January, and ſo the 20th daye of the ſaid moneth of January the ſayd commiſſioners delyvered to the ſayd Syr William Ewers, alias Ivers, the ſayd towne, caſtell, and towre, with all the ordenaunces, municyons, artillarye, and habyllyments off warre therto belonginge, as by particuler parcelles hereafter enſuyth, beſydes the implements wyche ar conteyned in a cedull unto thys preſent indentures annexed; That ys to ſaye fyrſte, at the hall doore w^t.in the ſaid caſtell, a double cannon of braſſe, unmountyd, with ſeven ſcore and two ſhotte of iron for the ſame, two bombardilles of iron, unmountyd, and a chambar of iron for either of the ſame, with 39 ſhotte of ſtoone for the ſame bombardelles, foure ſcore and five ſhotte of iron for a demy cannon, 31 ſtoone ſhotte and no pece for them; Item in the Bownkell towre, three ſerpentynes ſtokkyd and bound with iron with forlookks, and two chambars of iron for every of the ſame, two ſledges of iron, a fowler of iron ſtokked and bounde with iron, with forlok and ſyxe chambars for the ſame,

ſame, and upon the hed of the ſame towre a ſaker of braſſe of the fyer brande of Homfreys makinge, mountyd uppon ſhod whelys, with ladell and ſponge, a fawcon of braſſe called the Porteculles, of Homfrey's makinge, mounty'd upon ſhod whelys, with ladell ane ſpounge. Item in Clayton's towre, thre ſerpentynes, ſtokked and bounde with iron, a payre of olde ſaker whelys bounde with iron, and uppon the ſame towre hed a ſaker of braſſe of Scottyſhe makinge, mouty'd upon ſhod whelys, with ladell and ſpounge. Item uppon the walles at the bakehouſe ende a ſaker of braſſe of Skottyſhe makinge, called the Thyſell, mountyd upon ſhod whelys, with ladell and ſpounge, a faucon of braſſe of Homfrey's makinge, mountyd with ſhod whelys, with ladell and ſpounge. Item upon the leades over the greate chambar toward the water, a chympney, a cubburde, a little table, twoo treſtels, a payr of tongs, a porr, a fyre ſhovell of iron, 8 lokks, and ſyxe keyes for the doores of the ſame chambars.

Item in the cellar. Two payr of geeſts of woode, a little armerye, a ſtandynge-board, a lok and a keye for the doer of the ſame howſe.

Item in the wardrope chambar. Two beddes, and a lok and a keye for the doer of the ſame houſe.

Item in two chambars above the kytchen. Two beds, with a lok and a key for either chambar doer.

Item in the poorters lodge. A ſtande-bed, a little burde, a fourme, and oon amerye.

Item in the chappell. A cheſte with a lok and a keye to the ſame, oon olde maſſe-boke, a longe fourme, a ſhorte fourme, a bell.

Item in the chappell chamber and the chambar behynde the chappel. 3 bedds, with a lok and a keye for either doer.

Item

Item in two chambers in the dungeon, 6 bedds.

Item in two chambers in the gonners towre. 3 bedds, a long burde, two treſtels, a lok and a keye for the doer of either chamber.

Item in the chamber above the Weſt gayte. A bed and a lok and a key for the doer.

Item in the conſtable chambar, 2 bedds, 2 fourmes, a lok and a key for the dore.

Item in the kytchyn. A greate chymney of iron, a payre of galloes of iron for the ſame, thre crooks of iron, 2 greate raks of iron, a porr of iron, 2 ſpytts, a ſmall rake of iron, 3 dreſſynge bourdes, a payer of muſtarde ſtoones, a panne ſett in a fonrys. In the paſtry, a greate bourde. In the larder, a bourde, a greate cheſte.

Item in the bakehouſe. 3 trowes of woode with coverings, two peales, oon iron por, a lok and a keye for the doer.

Item in the brewhouſe of the greens. A copper panne, two coop kettelles, a wort trowe, 4 oores, 6 tubbys, an iron porr.

Fawcon of braſſe of the fier brande with oon olde ſtokke uppon ſhod whelys, with ladell and ſpounge. Item upon the olde towre hed, a fawcon of braſſe, of the fyre brande mountyd upon ſhod whelys. Item in the littel houſe in the walle beſyde Bownkill towre 22 ſtraks of iron for ſaker whelys, 28 ſhotte of leade for a fawcon, two bollts of iron with rampaires, and thre houpes of iron, a payre olde ſaker whelys bounde with iron. Item in the hawke howſe, half a laſte of gunpowder, 41 black bylls helvyd, 44 byll heeds unhelvyd, 24 ſhotte of iron for a ſaker, four ſhott of iron for a demy culveryn, a greate braſſe morter, with a peſtell of iron for making of powder. Item in the gonner's chambar

chambar 28 hagbuſshes of iron, 2 hagbuſhes of braſſe, 11 chambars for ſerpentyne, a chambar of iron without a hawll, a ſtamp of iron with hagbuſshes wyth a worme at the ende. Item in th' ordenaunce houſe in the doungeon four ſcore ſpads, and oon ſhod with iron, thre ſcore and five ſchovells ſhod with iron, 40 pykeaxes helvyd, 53 bowes of yough wraiks, 26 doſyn boweſtrings, 27 hoole barelles, and fifty and 7 half barrelles of gonnepowder, 15 pece of lettes calteroopes, a barrell full of cole, 14 payr of dowlays for wheles, 23 bolts of iron for ordenaunce, 5 boundes of iron for gonne ſtokks, a barre of iron for oon axeltre, 5 lynſpynnes of iron, two forlookks for ſtokk to ordenaunce, a moulde of iron for a ſerpentyne, thre chaynes of iron, a barre of iron for a windoes, 23 ſtracks of iron for ſaker and fawcon whelys, 24 houpes of iron, 3 boxes of iron, two creſſetts, ſyxe hondreth ſhotte of leade for a ſerpentyne, thre hundreth ſhotte of leade for a fawcon, four ſcore ſhotte of leade for a ſlang, 16 ſhotte of leade for a ſaker, two hundreth ſhotte of leade for hagbushes, a greate axeltry. Item in the armery above the hall 9 old ſallets, foure payr almane ryvetts good, 15 payr almaine ryvetts ruſty and brokyn, ſyxe ſtele gorgets, 5 payre of ſplents, a barrell and a hawlk for a gynne. Item in th' ordenaunce houſe above the armery, 13 ſcore and 5 ſheves of arroes, 13 hedſtalles, 51 horſe-collers, 51 olde horſe-tracys, a greate hawſer, 5 ſcore and 13 moryſpykes, thre ſhevers of braſſe, 11 creſſetts of iron, two cheſts for arrowys. Item in the towre at th' end of the whyte walle, 8 double hagbuſhes. Item in the towre of the bridge upon the hed of the ſame, a ſerpentyne of braſſe mountyd upon oon olde ſtok, with ſhod wheles with ladell and ſpounge, 12 ſhott of leade for the ſame. Item benethe in the ſame towre, ten hagbuſshes of iron with thre ſcore ſhotte of lead for the ſame, a ſledge

a ſledge of iron, 30 ſhotte of leade for a fawcon, thre treſtelles for hagbuſshes, a ledder bag wyth powder. In witneſſe whereof to the partyes of thieſe indentures the ſayd commiſſyoners and Sir William Ewry, alias Ivers, have interchangeably ſette their ſeales and ſubſcribyd with their owne handes the daye and year aboveſayd.

Wyllm Ewre ꝑ

Implements of Houſehold remainynge in the King's Caſtell aforeſayd, and delyvered as aboveſayd hereafter doith enſue.

Fyrſte in the hall. 4 greate ſtandyng tables, with fourmes for either ſyde of the ſame, a cubbard, a payre of ſtokks of wood, a paire of tongs, a fyre ſhovell of iron.

Item in the little houſe in the ſyde of the hall. A bed, with a lok and a keye for the doore of the ſame howſe.

Item in the pantre. A longe bynge of okyn thymbar, with thre particyons, a little armerye of of woode, a little lokker with a ſhelf of woode, a chypynge-burd, with a lok and a keye for the doore of the ſame howſe.

Item in the buttre. 4 payer of geeſts of woode dormint, two payer of geeſts movable, a cubburd, with a lok and a key for the door of the ſame howſe.

Item in the great chamber. Two longe tabelles, with two treſtelles, 2 fourmes, 3 buffett-ſtooles, two chayres, a little table, oon iron chympney, a cubburde.

Item in the capitaines chamber, with three other chambers nigh the ſame. 3 beddes, a cloſſe-preſſe, with a lok and a keye, oon iron.

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ERRATA.

Page 36, line 19, read *that* it is.
63, 2, &c. *Rev* J. D. Carlyle.
68, 25, IMP*eratore Domino Noſtro Gordiano.*
91, 9, *pinked.*
97, 4, F. A. S.
9, ouſted.
99, 6, Corſletts and cuiraſes.
164, note, 11, launched.
189, 1, 1709.
212, 3, London by.

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